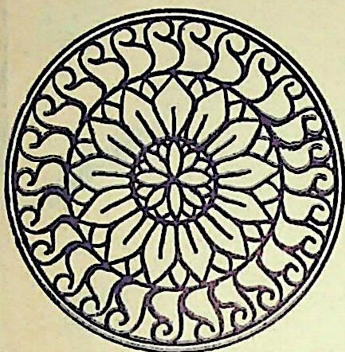
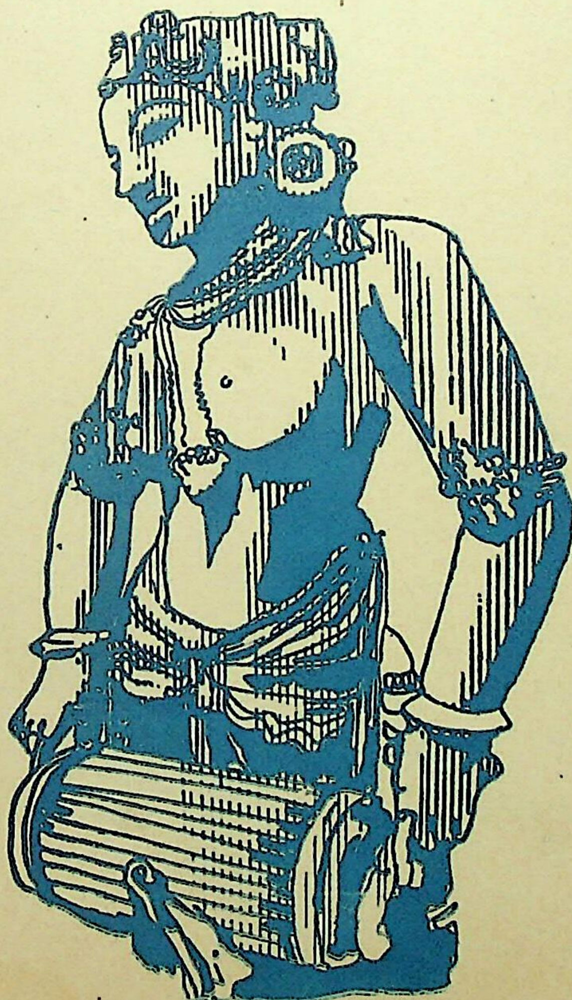
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Editor
G. C. TRIPATHI

Astt. Editor
MAYA MALAVIYA



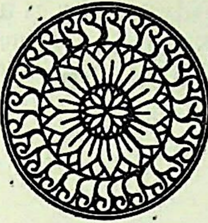
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गङ्गानाथप्रसृमरयशश्चन्द्रिकाधौतहर्म्यं
कूजद्विद्वद्विहगनिवहानेकगीताभिरामम् ।
काले काले कुसुमितनवान्वेषणाऽऽमोदिताशं
विद्यापीठं जयतु जगतां भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥

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CONTENTS

DĀSA VARṆA IN THE ṚGVEDA

DR. RAM GOPAL

Chandigarh

The author opposes the view that the word *Varṇa* has the connotation of caste in the Veda. *'Dāsam Varṇam'* according to him means 'darkness' as opposed to *'Āryam Varṇam'* which means light. *"Yo dāsaṃ varṇam adharaṃ guhākar"* (RV.II.12.4) thus would mean "who (Indra) banished darkness (and generated light)."

The Vedāṅgas, Smṛtis, Epics, Purāṇas and other works of post-Vedic literature undoubtedly employ the word *Varṇa* to designate the four hereditary classes, viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, constituting ancient Indian society. Among the works of earlier Sanskrit literature it is only the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V, 5, 4, 9) which explicitly describes these castes as the *four varṇas*. So far as the other Brāhmaṇas and later Vedic Saṃhitās are concerned, we do not come across even a single plural form of varṇa, which may be definitely assigned the sense of 'caste'. The position of this word in the RV. is still more doubtful. We cannot point to a single Ṛgvedic passage where *varṇa* decidedly denotes 'caste', according to the accepted norms of Vedic interpretation.

However, most of the modern scholars are inclined to hold that the phrase *dāsaṃ varṇam* occurring in the RV. (II, 12, 4) signifies "the black-coloured aborigines" who were engaged in racial conflicts with the fair-coloured Aryans

The protagonists of this view-point have propounded the thesis that it was the contrast of colours between the black-skinned Dāsas and the fair-skinned Aryans which formed the original basis of castes in India, for *varṇa,* they argue, is the regular name for 'caste' in Sanskrit.[1] Eminent modern scholars including Zimmer, Ludwig, Lassen, Weber, Macdonell and Keith have lent their full support to this thesis which is now regarded as an established fact by most of the well-known historians. The learned contributors of *The Vedic Age* (edited by R. C. Majumdar) have simply echoed this view in their respective articles and Dr. P. V. Kane, too, has taken up the same position in his famous *History of Dharmaśāstra.*

It is, therefore, highly important to examine afresh the basic evidence from original sources forming the bed-rock of this imposing structure. It is well to remember that in the entire range of Vedic literature there is only one passage[2] where these two controversial words *dāsa* and *varṇa* occur together to form the well-known phrase *dāsaṃ varṇam* which, as pointed out above, is interpreted by most of the modern scholars as "the black-coloured aborigines" opposed to the Aryans. This exposition of the phrase in question owes its origin to one of the two explanations[3] attempted by Sāyaṇa. In his first explanation he takes it to mean "the Śūdras etc.", but finding it unsatisfactory, proposes another explanation of *dāsam* as "a devastator". However, Veṅkaṭa-

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1. Cf. Macdonell's *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* 5th Ed., p. 152.

2. *RV.,* II, 12, 4–

येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहाकः ।
श्वघ्नीव यो जिगीवाँ लक्षमाददर्यः पुष्टानि स जनास इन्द्रः ॥

3. Sāyaṇa on *RV.* II, 12, 4b–

"शूद्रादिकम् । यद्वा दासमुपक्षपयितारम्" ।

mādhava, who wrote his commentary many centuries before Sāyaṇa does not think that any caste or class of people is intended in this phrase, and therefore he explains it as "an obstructing demon".[4] In order to ascertain the meaning of this phrase we should first of all find out how its principal word varṇa has been used in the other passages of the *Ṛgveda*. It is evident from a scrutiny of the *Ṛgvedic* passages containing *varṇa* that its use in the sense of 'caste' or 'racial colour' is nowhere definite and undisputed, whereas it positively signifies "darkness" or "night" in conjunction with *kṛṣṇa* or its synonyms and "day", "dawn", or "light" in conjunction with *Śukra, aruṇa* or similar adjectives in certain passages.[5] Moreover, there is no manner of doubt about the meaning of *varṇa* in those passages where it is used to describe the colour of Soma.[6] It is again equally certain that *varṇa* denotes "the light" or "refulgence" of deities like Agni and Sūrya in a few passages.[7]

Similarly in the later Vedic Saṃhitās also the use of *varṇa* in the sense of "colour", "form", or "light" is quite definite,[8] but there is no certainty about its use in the sense of 'caste' or 'the colour of skin' in any passage. This is why Whitney makes the following significant observation in his English translation of the *Atharva Veda*: "Emendation to

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4. Veṅkaṭamādhava on *RV*. II, 12, 4b—

"असुरं वारयितारम्" ।

5. Cf. *RV*. I, 73, 7; III, 34, 5; X, 3. 3.

6. Cf. *RV*. IX, 65, 8; 71, 2.8; 97, 15; 104, 4; 105, 4.

7. Cf. *RV*. II, 1, 12; 4, 5; 5, 5; IV, 5, 13. In II, 34, 13 the word *vàrṇa* signifies the appearance of the Maruts.

8. *M.S.* I, 2, 5; III, 2, 8; *K.S.* VIII, 8; IX, 11; XIII, 5; XXX, 6; XXXIV, 2; *T.S.* II, 4, 11, 6; 5, 1, 3; 5, 8, 1; VI, 1, 3, 1.2; *V.S.* XXX, 9.17; *A.V.* I, 22, 1.2; 23, 2; XI, 3, 8.

varṇais (in place of *varuṇais*) is a desperate and purely tentative one, as there is no evidence that *varṇa* had assumed so early, the sense of 'caste'."[9] Macdonell and Keith also partly accept this position in these words : "There is no trace in Vedic literature of any real distinction of colour save this main one."[10] The main distinction of colour, which these learned scholars presume as an exception in this observation, is in their opinion based principally on the two phrases *dāsaṃ varṇam* (*RV*. II, 12, 4) and *āryaṃ varṇam* (*RV*. III, 34, 9). But the current interpretations of these crucial phrases, as we shall see below, are open to serious doubts and therefore deserve a critical examination.

We have seen above that the predominant use of *varṇa* in the *Ṛgveda* as well as in the later Saṃhitās does not corroborate the current interpretation of *dāsaṃ varṇam* as "the black-coloured aborigines". Similarly its context also does not favour this interpretation, for in the entire hymn (II, 12) there is no reference to any racial or human conflict. Like the preceding and following stanzas of the hymn, the fourth stanza which contains this controversial phrase (*see* f.n. 2) extols Indra's deeds connected with natural phenomena. Since the first verse of this stanza praises Indra's universal power ("By whom all things have been made unstable"), a kindred idea concerning natural phenomena is expected in the second verse which contains our phrase *dāsaṃ* varṇam. But according to Sāyaṇa's first explanation (*see* f.n. 3) adopted by most of the modern scholars, Indra abruptly descends from the lofty plane of universal power described in the first verse to the low level of racial suppression in the

9. See, *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* translated into English by W. D. Whitney, III, 4, 6 (H.O.S. Vol. VII, p. 90).

10. *Vedic Index,* Vol. II, p. 247, f.n.2.

next verse of the same stanza. Such an explanation of the second verse is apparently incongruous with the context. Besides, there is another material fact which militates against this explanation. Sāyaṇa's first explanation[11] of the word *guhā* of this verse as "in the cave" has been relied upon by some of the modern scholars to propound their pet thesis that the Aryan invaders drove out the aborigines from their lands and forced them to take shelter in the mountain caves. But the Vedic usage of *guhā* demolishes this hypothesis. It is an irrefutable fact that in the whole of the *RV*. we find the use of only the stereotyped form *gúhā* which does not denote the locative sense ("in a cave") but is in fact used *adverbially* in the sense of "secretly, in hiding, etc.",[12] as opposed to *āvís* "openly, manifestly".[13] The root *kṛ* accompanied with the adverbial form *gúhā* means "to hide".[14] According to this sense of *gúhā* plus *ákar*, the second verse of the fourth stanza (*see* f.n. 2) would literally mean: "Who (Indra) has hidden the vile Dāsa colour". So this explanation of the phrase *gúhā ákar* does not favour the above-discussed interpretation of *dāsaṃ várṇam* as "black-coloured aborigines", for in the other two passages of the *RV*. this very phrase (*gúhā ákar*) is applied to the description of natural phenomena,[15] and the expression "has hidden" does not

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11. *See* f.n.3. Following Sāyaṇa, Wilson translates the second verse as "who consigned the base servile tribe to the cavern", and Dr. P. V. Kane (*H.D.S.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 25) gives the following rendering: "(Indra) who placed low the dāsa colour in a cave (or darkness)".

12. Cf. Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, s.v.; Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.; Macdonell's *Vedic Reader*, p. 231.

13. Cf. *RV*. VIII, 8, 23; 14, 8; X, 54, 5; 71, 1; 100, 7.

14. Cf. *RV*. I, 123, 7; IV, 18, 5.

15. *RV*. I, 123, 7; IV, 18, 5.

quite fit into the description of racial suppression as assumed by the supporters of the above interpretation.

In view of these obvious shortcomings of the above interpretation of *dāsaṃ várṇam*, it is imperative to search for an alternative explanation conforming to the context and Vedic usage. In order to determine the precise meaning of this controversial phrase it is essential to analyse the nature and functions of Indra who is praised in the verse in question. It is a well-known fact that in many Vedic passages Indra is extolled as winner of light and dispeller of darkness[16]. Besides, it is a chief characteristic of Vedic thought that the gods, as their very name *devá* (derived from the root *div* "to shine") implies, are invariably associated with light which is spoken of in the *RV*. as *jyótiṣ, ārya jyótiṣ*[17] "lit. noble light", *Śukrá*[18] "lit. white", *Śukrá várṇa*[19] "lit. white colour", *rúśat várṇa*[20] "lit. shining colour", *ārya várṇa*[21] "lit. noble colour", or simply *várṇa*[22] "lit. colour" (par excellence); whereas the demons (*dāsas* or *dasyus*) are always connected with darkness which is variously described as *támas, ándhas*[23] "lit. blind", *kṛṣṇá*[24] "lit. black", or *kṛṣṇá varṇa*[25]

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16. Cf. *RV*. I, 32, 4; 51, 4; 52, 8; 62, 5; 100, 8; II, 19, 3; III, 34, 4.9; 49, 4; IV, 16, 4; 30, 5; VIII, 3, 20; 15, 5; X, 43, 4.5.8; *see* Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 61.

17. Cf. *RV*. X, 43, 4.

18. Cf. *RV*. I, 135, 2; 140, 11; III, 8, 9; X, 7, 3.

19. Cf. *RV*. III, 34, 5.

20. Cf. *RV*. X, 3, 3.

21. Cf. *RV*. III, 34, 9.

22. Cf. *RV*. II, 1, 12; 4, 5; 5, 5; IV, 5, 13.

23. Cf. *RV*. I, 62, 5; 94, 7.

24. Cf. *RV*. I, 92, 5; 123, 1.9.

25. Cf. *RV*. I, 73, 7.

"lit. black colour". According to the Vedas, the gods win light by overpowering the demons who spread darkness. Viewed in this perspective, *dā́saṃ várṇam* ("lit. demoniacal colour") may very well mean "darkness", i.e. that colour of the atmosphere which belongs to the demons. The Vedic use of *várṇa* in the sense of "light" (*see* f.n. 19-22) as well as "darkness" (*see* f.n. 25) according to its attributes corroborates the proposed interpretation of this phrase, which is in perfect accord with the context and the nature and functions of Indra. Moreover, the *Ṛgvedic* usage of the other three words—*ádharaṃ gúhā ákar*—comprised in this verse supports our proposed interpretation. The word *ádhara* is found used as an adjective of *támas* "darkness" in another passage[26], and similarly the phrase *gúhā akar* has been employed elsewhere to convey the idea of hiding, i.e. dispelling, darkness.[27] The description of darkness as "a demoniacal" in the later Vedic Saṃhitās [28] also lends support to our interpretation. According to our proposed interpretation, the second verse containing *dā́saṃ várṇam* would mean : "Who (Indra) has hidden, i.e. dispelled, the vile demoniacal colour, i.e. darkness."

It is also equally pertinent to examine the current interpretations of another important phrase *āryaṃ várṇam*. Following Sāyaṇa, most of the modern scholars take this phrase in the sense of "Aryan race" and contrast it with *dā́saṃ várṇam*. But both context and Vedic usage do not corroborate this interpretation. Even a cursory glance at

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26. *RV*. X, 152, 4.

27. *RV*. I, 123, 7—

परिक्षितोस्तमो अन्या गुहाकर ।

"The other one (dawn) has hidden the darkness of both the surrounding (worlds)."

28. Cf. *K.S.* VIII, 3; XXXIV, 2.

the hymn (*RV*. III, 34) containing this phrase will show that Indra's exploits detailed in this hymn relate exclusively to natural phenomena such as light, rains, trees, plants, days, heaven, earth, atmosphere, etc., and there is no reference to any racial conflict in it. Moreover, the very first verse of the stanza[29] containing this phrase mentions the winning of the sun by Indra. As regards the Vedic usage, the phrase *āryaṃ várṇam,* that occurs only once in the entire Vedic literature, displays very close resemblance with another rare phrase *ārya jyótiṣ* (*see* f.n. 17)which undoubtedly means "noble light". Thus the context as well as the predominant usage of *várṇa* in the sense of "light" (*see* f.n. 19—22) strongly suggests that our phrase *āryaṃ várṇam* is synonymous with *ārya jyótiṣ* and therefore means "noble light". The use of *dasyus* in the verse containing this phrase cannot be considered as a piece of conclusive evidence to prove its racial connotation, for even the ardent supporters of racial theory, such as Macdonell and Keith, do not subscribe to the view that the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* everywhere denote a racial group (The present writer's other articles on the meanings of the Vedic words *dāsa, dasyu* and *ārya* will appear in due course).

We may also examine in this connection the interpretation of *RV*. I, 179, 6c which has been especially referred to by Dr. P. V. Kane[30] in support of his view that "in some verses of the *Ṛgveda* the word *varṇa* is associated with the groups of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour", and which has accordingly been explained by him as follows :

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29. *RV*. III, 34, 9—

ससानात्याँ उत सूर्यं ससानेन्द्रः ससान पुरुभोजसं गाम् ।
हिरण्ययमुत भोगं ससान हत्वी दस्यून्प्रार्यं वर्णमावत् ॥

30. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

"Agastya supported both the Āryas and Dāsas"[31]. It may be pointed out here that this is a highly controversial passage which has been interpreted in various ways by eminent Vedists such as Veṅkaṭamādhava, Sāyaṇa, Grassmann, Geldner, Griffith and Bergaigne. Geldner in his German translation of the RV. has offered two explanations of the dual form *várṇau* occurring in this verse. He thinks that *várṇau* may mean either "day and night' or "the two castes—Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya" (but not Dāsas and Āryas as understood by Kane). The first alternative suggested by Geldner merits serious consideration, because besides the use of *várṇa* for denoting the colours of day and night (i.e. light and darkness, *see* f.n. 18—24) its dual form is actually employed in the Vedic literature to signify "day and night"[32]. Therefore, the interpretation of *várṇau* as "day and night" appears to be quite probable in view of its context and Vedic usage. Anyhow, no conclusion concerning the prevalence of caste in the Vedic times can be drawn from this obscure passage.

It would also be pertinent to examine here another argument advanced by the advocates of caste-theory that "the black skin of the aborigines is also directly mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* I, 130, 8 and IX, 41, 1"[33]. This argument is based on the assumption that the Vedic words *kṛṣṇá* and *tvác* occurring in the said passages of the *RV*. definitely signify "the black skin" of a race. But neither the Vedic usage nor the context substantiates this assumption. It is an irrefutable fact that both these words are metaphorically emloyed in numerous Vedic passages to denote natural phe-

31. *RV*. I, 179, 6c—

उभौ वर्णावृषिरुग्रः पुपोष ।

32. Cf. *M.S.* III, 3, 3; *K.S.* XIII, 5; *P.Br.* XII. 3, 5.

33. *See*, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 356.

nomena such as "darkness" and "cloud"; and this significant fact has been clearly accepted by not only ancient Indian commentators but by modern Vedic scholars also. For instance, the figurative use of *tvác* in the sense of "cloud" as well as of "darkness" has been accepted by Grassmann, Geldner, Griffith and Monier-Williams.[34] Similarly the words *kṛṣṇá* figuratively denotes "a black cloud" in *RV*. I, 79, 2 and IV, 17, 14 according to Griffith. Its feminine form *kṛṣṇá* stands for "night" in numerous Vedic passages[35], according to both ancient and modern scholars. Moreover, there are sharp differences of opinion among modern Vedic scholars in regard to the interpretations of certain passages containing these words. Griffith, for example, explains the word *kṛṣṇáḥ* occurring in *RV*. VI, 47, 21 as "the dark aborigines", while Geldner takes it in the sense of "nights". The words *ásiknīḥ viśaḥ* of *RV*. VII, 5, 3, which Geldner and Griffith interpret as "the dark-hued races", are explained by Roth as "the spirits of darkness". The phrase *kṛṣṇāṃ tvácam* of *RV*. IX, 41, 1, which has been particularly singled out by some scholars (*see* f.n. 33) to prove their caste-theory, signifies "darkness" according to Monier-Williams; and even Griffith who literally translates it as "the black skin" is uncertain about its real connotation. Therefore, he subjoins the following footnote to his translation : "*The black skin* : meaning, apparently, both the black pall or covering of night and the Rākṣasas or dark-skinned *dasyus* or hostile aborigines". Similarly there are divergent interpretations of the phrase *kṛṣṇāṃ tvácam* occurring in *RV*. I, 130, 8, which has been referred to by the protagonists of caste-theory in support of their view (*see* f.n. 33). According to the pre-Sāyaṇa

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34. "cloud" *RV*. I, 79, 3; 129, 3 (Monier-Williams). "Darkness" *RV*. IV, 17, 14 (Grassmann and Griffith) ; IX, 41, 1 (Monier-Williams) ; IX, 73, 5 (Grassmann and Monier-Williams).

35. Cf. *RV*. I, 113, 2 .14; III, 15, 3; etc.

commentator Veṅkaṭamādhava, it denotes "cloud" and this interpretation is corroborated by context and the figurative use of these words in the Vedic passages. The tenor of the concerned hymns is in favour of interpreting the words *kṣṛṇā* and *tvác* as applicable to natural phenomena such as "cloud" and "darkness", while there is no positive evidence in the Vedic literature to take them in the sense of "the black skin" of a race. In spite of these facts, if any attempt is made to assign the sense of "caste", "colour of skin", or "race" to any of these words in utter disregard of context, usage and predominant Vedic thought, it amounts to reading later ideas and prejudices into the earlier texts. Another striking instance of this kind is met with in the works of those modern scholars who seek to interpret the phrase *sákhibhiḥ śvitnyébhiḥ* of *RV*. I, 100, 18 as "the White-hued Aryans". Referring to this particular phrase in support of their caste-theory, Macdonell and Keith observe: "The white-hued (*Śvitnya*) friends' who, in I, 100, 18, aid in the conquest of Dasyu and Śimyu are doubtless Aryans".[36]. In their zeal to prove this proposition the learned authors of "*The Vedic Index*" pointedly refer to the Dasyus and Śimyus mentioned in the first verse of this stanza, but conveniently ignore the last verse which explicitly states that Indra won the sun and waters[37], i.e. rains (with the aid of his shining friends). It is a well-known fact that the Maruts, who are often described as "shining" (*Rucānās*)[38] on account of their permanent association with lightnings[39], are the proverbial allies (*Sákhis*) of Indra and aid him in his famous exploits

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36. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 356, f.n.6.

37. *RV*. I, 100, 18d–

सनत्सूर्यं सनदपः सुवज्रः ।

38. Cf. *RV*. VII, 56, 13.

39. *See* Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 78-79.

of winning light and water. The *RV*. does not speak of any human beings who aid Indra in these deeds concerning natural phenomena. So there is no valid justification for accepting this new interpretation (as "white-hued Aryans") of this phrase in preference to the earlier one as "the Maruts" suggested by the ancient Indian commentators.

Whenever there is a doubt or ambiguity about the interpretation of any Vedic word, phrase, or idea, the parallel Vedic passages containing that word, phrase or idea can prove our interpretation in the following words : "As regards its more peculiar and difficult portions, it must therefore be interpreted mainly through itself; or, to apply in another sense the words of an Indian commentator, it must shine by its own light and be self-demonstrating"[40]. By the application of this scientific method to the crucial Vedic passages discussed above we have seen that neither the *Ṛgvedic* word *várṇa* denotes caste, race, or the colour of skin of any people nor does the phrase *dāsa varṇa* signify "the black-coloured aborigines" as interpreted by so many scholars. The current historical theories based on such fallacious interpretations of Vedic words, phrases and ideas need a thorough overhauling.

Abbreviations

A.V. = Atharvaveda
K.S. = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā
M.S. = Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā
P.Br. = Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
RV. = Ṛgveda
T.S. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
V.S. = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā

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40. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 5th Ed., p. 63.

KAPIÑJALA HYMNS OF THE ṚGVEDA

DR. SIDDH NATH SHUKLA

Allahabad

For the sūktas RV II.42, 43 a deity *Kapiñjala* (hazel Cock) has been postulated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* etc. which has been occasionally identified with Indra. The author shows that *Kapiñjala* here is a term used for Soma. He points towards the close association of Soma with the bird *Kapiñjala* in the story of Tvaṣṭṛ due, perhaps, to the brownish colour of the both and cites other references where Soma has been depicted as a bird.

The last two hymns of the second Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* (*RV.*)[1] pose a problem of identification of the presiding deity. Through these hymns the seer Gṛtsamada has invoked a bird which has been named as *Kapiñjala* by the *Bṛhaddevatā* (*Bṛhad.*) and *Sarvānukramaṇī*, and this *Kapiñjala* has been indentified with Indra. Thus according to the tradition the presiding deity of these two hymns is Indra. *Bṛhad.* narrates a story that once the seer Gṛtsamadạ was ready to go out when Indra, in the form of a *kapiñjala* bird (hazel cock) came there and began to twitter on his right or Southern direction, and the seer realized the mystery through his vision and began to praise the *Kapiñjala*-Indra.[2] The

1. *RV.* 2.42-43.

2. According to *Bṛhad.* 4.93-94 Indra, in the form of Kapiñjala bird, is praised in the *RV.* II.42-43 :—

स्तुतिं तु पुनरेवेच्छन् इन्द्रो भूत्वा कपिञ्जलः ।
ऋषेर्जिगमिषोराशां ववाशास्थाय दक्षिणाम् ॥
स तमार्षेण सम्प्रेक्ष्य चक्षुषा पक्षिरूपिणम् ।
पराभ्यामभितुष्टाव सूक्ताभ्यां तु कनिक्रदत् ॥

Sarvānukramaṇī (*Sarvā.*) gives another account of this story. According to it the seer praised a bird which was inauspiciously crying while he was on journey.[3] Thus these two accounts present contradictory statements and it is obviously difficult to accept them as the authentic one in order to identify the bird either with Indra or something else. Neither *Bṛhad.* nor *Sarvā.* gives a satisfactory solution of the present problem. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether *kapiñjala* is really a bird or it signifies Indra, or it indicates some other deity.

So far as Indra is concerned, it does not seem proper to identify him with a bird, as the *Bṛhad.* or *Sarvā.* has done, due to his anthropomorphic personality. If it is just a bird— this also is doubtful, because a single bird has never been the presiding deity in any individual hymn or hymns in the *RV.*—it could be only a hazel cock. Who then is *Kapiñjala?* I propose that we may identify *Kapiñjala* with Soma on the basis of the following findings :—

In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*) *Kapiñjala* has been identified with soma.[4] It narrates a story according to which Tvaṣṭṛ's son was Viśvarūpa who was three-headed and six-eyed. He had three mouths. One of his mouths was meant for drinking Soma, the other for spirit and the third one for enjoying other kinds of food. Indra hated him and cut off those heads of his. Now "from the one which was Soma-drinking, a hazel cack sprang forth: whence the latter is of brownish colour, for king Soma is brown".

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3. *Sarvānukramaṇikā* 2'42.43.

(एताभ्याम् ऋषिरध्वनि वाश्यमानम् शकुन्तं तुष्टाव)

4. *SB.* 1.6.3.3; 5, 5, 4, 4.

स यत्सोमपानमास । ततः कपिञ्जलः समभवत्

स बभ्रुक इव बभ्रुरिव हि सोमो राजा'।

The similar story occurs in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (*TS*) too, where *Kapiñjala* has been equated with Soma.[5] We find some statements regarding bird-sacrifice in *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (*VS*) where brownish birds are mentioned as to be consecrated to Soma.[6] Brownish colour belongs to Soma, therefore, the birds which are of this colour, are sacrificed to him. *Kapiñjala* possesses this colour. This is the reason why it has been equated or identified with Soma. On this similarity it seems justified that in the present hymns of the *RV*. (2.42-43) Kapiñjala may signify Soma. There are some other reasons also which indicate towards this solution.

Soma has been called *śakuna* in various places in the *RV*. which indicates Soma's identification with a bird like *Kapiñjala*, as :

(i)—नाके सुपर्णमुपपप्तिवांसं गिरो वेनानामकृपन्त पूर्वीः ।
शिशुं रिहन्ति मतयः पनिप्नतं हिरण्ययं शकुनं क्षामणि स्थाम् ॥

—*RV*. 9.85.11

The many voices of the Venas praise (the Soma who dwells) in heaven, well-winged, falling to (earth); praises soothe the crying infant, the golden bird, reposing on the earth'.

(ii)—नाके सुपर्णमुप यत्पतन्तं हृदा वेनन्तो अभ्यचक्षत त्वा ।
हिरण्यपक्षं वरुणस्य दूतं यमस्य योनौ शकुनं भुरण्युम् ॥

—*RV*. 10.123.6

'Those desiring thee in their hearts contemplated thee travelling as a strong-winged bird in the sky, the golden winged messenger of Varuṇa, the bird which nourishes (the world) in Yama's dwelling'.

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5. यत् सोमपानमासीत् स कपिञ्जलोऽभवत्
TS. 2.5.1.2..

6. *VS*. 24.9; 18; 20.
बभ्रवः सौम्याः ।

The epithet *śakuna* in these occurrences indicates that in the Vedic period this name popularly given to Soma. Therefore, it would not be improper to equate Soma with *śakuna* (or *Kapiñjala*).

The word *sumaṅgala* occurs here (*RV*. 2.42.2) as an adjective of '*Śakuna*', which can be compared with other occurrences, connected with Soma. The word occurs only twice in *RV*., i.e. 2.42.1 and 9.80.3 The verse *RV*. 9.80.3 reads as follows :

एन्द्रस्य कुक्षा पवते मदिन्तम ऊर्जं वसानः श्रवसे सुमङ्गलः ।
प्रत्यङ स विश्वा भुवनाभि पप्रथे क्रीळन हरिरत्यः स्यन्दते वृषा ॥

'The best giver of delight flows to Indra's throat, covering himself with vigour, auspicious one, for fame. He spreads himself abroad to meet all things that be : the vigorous tawny steed flows sporting on his way'.

Next there arises question about '*śyena*'. Here, in *RV*. 2.42.2, it has been mentioned that the seer cautions the '*Śakuna*' that he should be beware of '*śyena*' lest he should be killed by him. *Śyena* is supposed to be a bird-killer and at the same time he has been called the carrier of Soma from heaven.[7] 'He brought Soma from the heaven by his feet and mouth.' Here, we may quote a legend from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[8] (AB.) which describes how *Gāyatrī* (in the form of a *Śyena*) brought Soma from the heaven :—

सोमो वै राजामुष्मिन् लोक आसीत्....। तेऽब्रुवन् छन्दांसि । यूयं न इमं सोमं राजानमाहरतेति । तथेति । ते सुपर्णा भूत्वोदपतन्....॥ ते देवा अब्रुवन् गायत्रीम् ।

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7. अथा भर श्येनभृत प्रयांसि—
RV. 9.87.6.

पिबा सोमं मदाय कमिन्द्र श्येनाभृतं सुतम्—
RV. 8.95.3.

स त्वामदद् वृषा मदः सोमः श्येनाभृतः सुतः—
RV. 1.80.2.

8. *AB*. 3.25-26.

त्वं न इमं सोमं राजानमाहरेति । सा तयेत्यब्रुवीत् । सा पतित्वा सोमपालान् भीषयित्वा पद्भ्यां च मुखेन च सोमं राजानं समागृभ्णात् । तस्या अनुविसृज्य कृशानुः सोमपालः सव्यस्य पदो नखमच्छिदत् । तच्छल्यकोऽभवत्....।।

Thus, according to this legend Soma was brought by Gāyatrī, in the form of *śyena,* which connects the *'śyena'*, in the present context, with Soma. It is probable that the *śyena* may kill Soma while bringing him, on the way[9]. Perhaps, this is the reason that the *'Śakuna'* (*Kapiñjala*) has been warned here to save himself from the *'śyena'*.

Another important phenomenon in this context is the speech of *'śakuna'* on the right or in the southern direction. The seer requests the *'śakuna'* to utter auspicious speech in the southern direction which is closely connected with the *Pitṛs.* Now, naturally the question arises : why has he been requested to utter auspicious speech only towards the South, and not towards any other direction ? The answer of this problem may briefly be given as follows—

(1) According to *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (*GB.*), the southern direction is supposed to be dreadful or inauspicious, and other directions are calm and peaceful.[10] Therefore, *śakuna* has been invoked to speak towards the southern direction only in order to make it auspicious through his speech.

(2) The southern direction belongs to the Pitṛs.[11] Hence the *Śakuna* has been called to utter auspi-

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9. Commentary by Skandasvāmin on *RV.* 1.80.2.

10. घोरा वा एषा दिग्दक्षिणा शान्ता इतरा ।

GB. 2.19.

11. एषा वै दिक् पितॄणां सा यद् दक्षिणा ।

ŚB. 1.2.5.17.

cious speech in order to please the forefathers of the seer.

(3) The gods came to know about the southern direction with the help of Soma, or Soma knows corectly about this direction.[12]

In the quotation from *AB.*, cited above we find a reference regarding the relation between Soma and Southern direction. The metres which could not bring Soma, brought this direction (perhaps they brought the knowledge about this direction). Thus this direction has a close relation to Soma. Therefore, the '*śakuna*' who is taken to represent Soma, is requested to produce his auspicious speech only in this direction, not in others. Thus, all those sources prove that *śakuna*' is another name of Soma, who has been called here *kapiñjala*. So, Indra has nothing to do in the present context (*RV*. 2.42-43), and it will be unjustified to think of him as the presiding deity of these two sūktas. If a deity is supposed to be invoked here, it can only be Soma, and no one else. Perhaps, these two Sūktas were meant to be recited at the time of Soma-pressing ceremony.

12.

पितृदेवत्यः सोम इति दक्षिणां ह्येतेन दिशं प्राजानन् दक्षिणा ह्येतस्य दिक्—

SB. 3.2.3.17.

स (सोमः) दक्षिणां दिशं प्राजानात्—

Kauś. B. 7.6.

DEVELOPMENT OF HORTICULTURE IN THE VEDIC AGE

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Agriculture played a great role in the life of the Vedic people. Vedic literature sheds ample light on the development of horticulture during its period. Vedic ṛṣis conceiving consciousness (cetanā śakti) in the trees, plants and herbs, personified them and praised them. The world of 'vanaspati' besides supplying food, fruits, flowers and wood served them to get rid of diseases, curse, witchcraft, and was also useful in sacrificial and medicinal purposes, *vaśīkaraṇa*, securing success over a rival wife, killing insects etc. An elaborate division of plants and flowers, their cultivation, insects and calamities harmful to these were also not unknown to the Vedic people.

There is ample literary material which throws a welcome light on the development of horticulture during the Vedic period. Vedic people were agriculturists and their agricultural lands, vegetables, fruits, pastures and trees were the main sources of their economy and life.

They looked at them with religious sentiments. Their gratefulness towards them is shown by many references. In one Sūkta of the fourth Maṇḍala[1] of the *Ṛgveda*, the deities

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1. *R.V.*, IV. 57.1–8.

are the personifications of the circumstances connected with agriculture and 'the master of the field' (*Kṣetrapati*) is praised for cattle, horses, nourishment, herbs and abundant fruits. The tenth Maṇḍala of the same *Saṃhitā* has a Sūkta[2] where medicinal plants and herbs are spoken of as deities. They are described as the divine mothers living in the trees namely, Aśvattha and Palāśa.[3] They are spoken of as ancient and are stated to be generated for gods before three ages.[4] They are said to be 'universal and all-pervading'.[5] They are described as fallen from heaven to save men and to liberate them from sin, produced by curse.[6] Plants, bearing abundant flowers and fruits are praised to get triumph over diseases.[7] The Aśvāvatī, the Somavatī, the Ūrjayantī and the Udojasa—plants[8] are praised and hailed for their medicinal properties to overcome some diseases. Soma is spoken as the 'best of the plants' and described as their king.[9]

The *Śukla Yajurveda*,[10] too, describes some plants as mothers and goddesses and speaks that the holy Fig tree is their home and the Parṇa tree is their mansion. The plants, laden with bloom and good fruits have been welcomed here[11].

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2. *Ibid.*, X. 97,1–23.
3. *Ibid.*, X. 97.5.
4. *Ibid.*, X. 97.1.
5. *Ibid.*, X. 97.10.
6. *R.V.* X. 97.16-17.
7. *Ibid.*, X. 97.3.
8. *Ibid.*, X. 97.7.
9. *Ibid.*, X. 97.22-23.
10. *V.S.*, XII. 77-83.
11. *Ibid.*, XI. 48.

In the *Atharvaveda,* herbs and plants are praised to remove different diseases. One herb is praised for healing leprosy.[12] Other plant is praised to get rid of a curse.[13] Another plant is praised to cure from the disease namely Kṣetriya.[14] A plant, namely Pṛṣṇiparṇi (a tree having spotted leaf) is praised to cure a disease namely Kaṇva.[15] Herbs were praised for victory in disputes. In this connection, 'Śālavṛkṣas are mentioned.[16] Aśvattha and Khadira trees are mentioned as very useful against enemies. Plants having 'outstretched leaves, (having god-quickened power)' are praised to remove the rivals.[17] A plant, named Arundhatī, having healing properties is mentioned to heal serious wounds, and to grow blood, bones and flesh.[18] Some plants were to help against witchcraft.[19] Recovery of vitality was also expected from them.[20] Trees, namely Pramandini (a fragrant plant), Aśvattha, and Nyagrodha are mentioned to get victory against certain super human foes.[21] A tree, namely Kuṣṭha (costus speciosus or Arabicus), growing on mountains, is praised to cure Takman (fever).[22] It is described as a flower of immortality.[23]

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12. *A.V.,* I.23.1 and 24.
13. *Ibid.,* II.7.1.
14. *Ibid.,* II.8.3-4.
15. *A.V.,* II.25.1-5.
16. *Ibid.,* II.27.1-5.
17. *Ibid.,* III.18.1-2.
18. *Ibid.,* IV.12.1-7.
19. *Ibid.,* IV.18.1-5.
20. *Ibid.,* IV.4.1-6.
21. *Ibid.,* IV.17.3-7.
22. *Ibid.,* V.4.1. and VI.95.
23. *Ibid.*

Trees and plants served many more purposes of the Vedic people. Rough and poisonous creeper is praised to get success against a rival woman.[24] Apāmārga, a plant (Achyranthes aspera) is described as very useful for cleaning the body.[25] Some plants were to kill insects.[26] Śamī tree, which had big leaves, was for the benefit of hair.[27] Roots of a herb were used to fasten and increase the hair.[28]

Trees served their many other purposes, as they supplied wood which was used in their agricultural implements in many ways. Wooden houses were very popular during this period. The chariots were made of it. Sūrya, Sun-god, had his chariot, made of good Kinśuka Śālmalī-wood.[29] Plants and herbs were crushed for juice. Soma-juice, a kind of drink, was prepared from Soma-plants which had well-nourished branches.[30] Khadira (Acacia catechu) and Sinsapā (Dalbergia Sisee) produced very strong wood which was very useful in making cars,[31] especially for its axle and floor respectively. War-drums were made of forest trees.[32] Plants and trees were to give store of wealth.[33] They supplied them flowers, shoots (Prastu) and fruits.[34]

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24. *Ibid.*, VII.113.
25. *A.V.*, VII.65-67.
26. *Ibid.*, VIII.56.
27. *Ibid.*, VI.30.
28. *Ibid.*, VI.136-137.
29. *R.V.*, X.85.20.
30. *Ibid.*, I.23-3.
31. *R.V.*, III.53.19.
32. *A.V.*, V. 21.3.
33. *V.S.*, XII.7-83.
34. *A.V.*, VIII.7.27.

Plants and trees played a great role in the Vedic sacrifices as well. A man, going on fast, used to eat only what grew in the forest, be it forest-plants or fruits of trees. He used to eat cooked beans.[35] Wood was used in the sacrifices in many ways. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* informs that the priests used posts and wooden swords in it.[36] Wooden sticks made of Palāśa tree (Butea Frondosa), were used in the sacrifices; for according to them, kindling sticks (Samidh) used to kindle the spring which causes living beings and plants.[37] The Palāśa tree was doubtless considered as the Brahma.[38] The Brahma or Supreme Spirit is identified with the Palāśa tree in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[39] He is also identified with its leaf.[40] The *Ṛgveda*[41] and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[42] state that Brahma was the wood, and Brahma was that tree of which heaven and earth were fashioned. The *Atharvaveda*[43] also says that the gods formed a part of the divine essence (Skambha-Brahma) as branches of a tree. In this connection, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* informs :

> "Should he be unable to procure them of Palāśa-wood, they may be of Vikaṅkaṭa, wood (Flacourtia Sapida); and if he be unable to procure any of Vikaṅkaṭa, they may be of Kārṣamarya-wood (Gmelina Arborea) and if he be unable to procure any of Kārṣmarya wood, they

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35. *S.B.*, I.1.1.10.
36. *Ibid.*, I.2.4.3.
37. *Ibid.*, I.3.4.7; I.5.3.8.
38. *Ibid.*, I.3.3.18-20.
39. *Ibid.*, V.2.4.18; VI.6.3.7; XII.7.2.15.
40. *Ibid.*, II.6.28.
41. *R.V.*, X.31.7.
42. *T.B.*, II.8.9.6.
43. *A.V.*, X.7.38.

may be of Vilva (Aegle Marmelos) or of Khadira (Acacia Catechu) or of Udumbara wood (Ficus Glomerata). These, doubtless, are the trees that are suitable for sacrificial purposes and from these trees the enclosing sticks are therefore taken."[44]

Another plant, more useful for the sacrifices was Arka (Calotropis Gigantea), the leaves of which were used in the sacrifices to put rice and barley cakes.[45] Arka was in fact very useful plant. Its flowers, grains and roots were used in many ways. Thus, the vegetable-world played a great role in their religious activities. Once, it is stated that men could not sacrifice, if there were no trees.[46] Really trees were meat for them.

Grass too was used in the sacrifices. The *Ṛgveda* mentions Śara grass, Kuśa, Darbha, Sairya, Muñja and Vīraṇa grasses which were used in various sacrifices.[47] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions Barhi[48], a grass used in the sacrifices. It was thrown on the altar and was used as the seat of the gods.[49] This was praised very much in the later Vedic age.[50] Darbha, another type of grass, was the meat of sacrifice.[51] If soma-plant was not available, brown Dūb (Dūrvā) was pressed for juice, for they were akin to Soma.[52].

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44. *S.B.*, I.3.3.18-20.
45. *Ibid.*, II.2.3.12-13.
46. *Ibid.*, III.2.2.9.
47. *R.V.*, I.191.3.
48. *S.B.*, I.3.3.8-11.
49. *S.B.*, I.3.3.11; *VS.*, XXVIII.21.
50. *S.B.*, I.5.3.12.
51. *Ibid.*, VII.2.3.2.
52. *Ibid.*, IV.6.1.2-6; *VS.*, Bk.XIII.

The grass was used otherwise, as well. Gavedhukā grass was used in smoothing pots.[53] A bundle of grass, called, Kūrca, was used as a seat.[54]

The use of flower was also into vogue. Vehicles such as cars were usually decorated with flowers. A garland (*Sraj*) mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*[55] and later[56], was often worn by men who were anxious to look more handsome. It was used in the wedding ceremony. The Aśvins are described as lotus-wreathed (puṣkara-srajā).[57] A lotus-flower was used as a symbol in the Vedic sacrifices. But, as worship of images was not in vogue so flower did not have that place in the Vedic religious sentiments, as it did in the Paurāṇika Hinduism later on.

A systematic classification of the vegetable-world is not available in the Vedic literature. It is broadly classified on the basis of size, apparent colour and habits. Broadly, it is divided between Oṣadhi or Vīrudh—'plants' and Vana or Vṛkṣa—'trees'. Oṣadhi—Vanaspati is a frequent compound used in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* onwards.[58] Vṛkṣa is a very common word for trees used in the *Ṛgveda*[59] and later works. Another common word used for trees was 'Vanaspati'.[60]

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53. *S.B.*, XIV.12.19.
54. *T.S.*, VII.5.8.5; *S.B.*, XI.5.3.4.
55. *R.V.*, X.184.2.
56. *Ibid.*, IV.38.6; V.53.4; VIII.47.15; 56.3.
57. *R.V.*, X.184.2; *A.V.*, III.22.4, *S.B.*, IV.1.5.16.
58. *S.B.*, VI.1.1.12.
59. *R.V.*, I.104 (20), 22; II.14.2.
60. *Ibid.*, I.166.5; III.34.10.

'Vānaspatyas' was also a term applied to them.[61] It is distinguished from 'Vīrudh' and 'Oṣadhi'. Vīrudh meant 'plant' during the *Ṛgveda*[62] and later.[63] It was rather a generic term for minor vegetable growths. But, as contrasted with Oṣadhi, it denoted the inferior order of plants. Oṣadhi was employed in opposition with Vīrudh to mean plants which possessed healing power or some other qualities useful to men.

In the *Ṛgveda,* plants are classified on the basis of flowers and fruits as well. They[64] are termed 'fruitful' (Phalinīḥ), 'blossoming' (Puṣpavatīḥ) and 'having flowers' (prasūvarīḥ). They are described as 'bearing fruits' or 'barren' and flowering or flowerless.[65]

In the *Atharvaveda*[66], an elaborate division of plants is available. It says that some plants expand (pra-stṛṇatīḥ), some are bushy (stambinīḥ); some have only speath (eka-śuṅgāḥ); some are creepers (pra-tanvatīḥ); some have many stacks (aṃśumatīḥ); some are jointed (Kāṇḍinīḥ) and some have spreading branches (vi-śākhāḥ). The *Atharvaveda* again, mentions some plants, namely Ābayu (being eaten) Vihalha, Tauvilika, Alasāla; Silāñjāla, Nīlāgalasāla, whose meaning as tree is not certain. They may be taken as grain-creepers (Sasya-Vallī).[67] It divides them on the basis of

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61. Whitney, *A.V.*, p. 94; commentary on *A.V.*, III.6.1.6.
62. *R.V.*, I.67.9; 141.4; II.1.14.
63. *A.V.*, I.32.3; 34.1; II.7.1.
64. *R.V.*, X.97.3; 15.
65. *Ibid.*, X.97.15; Vide also *V.S.*, XII.V.; also *A.V.*, VIII.7.27
66. *A.V.*, VIII.7.4.
67. *Ibid.*, VI.16.

colour as well. Once, it mentions[68] a seer, addressing trees—"those that are brown and that are bright, the red and the spotted, the *swarthy*, (*asiknīḥ*) the black herbs". The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also divides Phālguna tree into two divisions on the basis of colour. It says that there are two kinds of Phālguna plants, the red flowering and the brown flowering.[69] Plants are divided on the basis of their usefulness as well. It is said[70] that some plants have sweet roots; some have sweet tips; some have sweet middle; some have sweet leaf and some have sweet flowers.

The minor parts, of which a plant is made, are also mentioned in the later Saṃhitās.[71] According to them, a plant has the root (Mūla), the panicle (Tūla), the stem (Kāṇḍa), the twig (Valśa), the flower (Puṣpa), and the fruit (Phala). They state further that the trees[72] have, in addition, a corona (Skandha), branches (Śākhā) and leaves (parṇa). A leafless shrub, namely Karīra (Capparis aphylla) was also known. It first appears in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*.[73] A kind of water-plant was also known to them.[74]

The Vedic sages studied the vegetable-world very closely and references are available to shed a flood of light on their knowledge of the fact that plants have a sort of dormant or latent consciousness and are capable of pleasure and pain. The *Ṛgveda* has one hymn which is addressed to plants "that

68. *Ibid.*, VIII.7.1.
69. *S.B.*, IV.4.1.2-6.
70. *A.V.*, VIII.7.12.
71. *T.S.*, VII.3.19.1; *V.S.*, XXII.28.
72. *T.S.*, VII.3.20; Cf. *R.V.*, I.32.5; *A.V.*, X.7.38.
73. *T.S.*, II.4.8.2; *Kaṭh. Saṃ.*, XI.II; XXXVI.7, *S.B.*, II.5.2.11.
74. *V.S.*, XXIII.21.

hear" the (prayer).[75] Another interesting reference is this that they knew that the "tree suffers pain from the axes."[76] They also observed that during the winter, plants wither and the leaves fall off the tree.[77] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions Barhis (grass) plants which are used to shrink during the summer and winter and grow by the rains.[78]

The process of cultivation of soil is also known. The soil was classified into loose and hard types. The ground was ploughed with a plough (lāṅgala) and such cultivated piece of land was called 'plough-land' (Urvara). This expression is available from the *Ṛgveda*[79] onwards. Such a field was spoken of as fertile (apnasvatī)[80] and the waste fields were called "ārtanā".[81] The *Ṛgveda*[82] and the *Atharvaveda*[83] both inform that intensive cultivation was done by means of irrigation.

Rain was the main source of water.[84] But irrigation was done from the tanks as well. We get a reference to the dam of a tank (*Vartra*) in the *Atharvaveda*[85] and the *Tait. Saṃhitā.*[86] Sacrifices were, usually, offered to the Parjanyas

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75. *R.V.*, X.97.21.
76. *Ibid.*, I.127.3; VII.104.21.
77. *S.B.*, I.5.4.5.
78. *S.B.*, I.5.3.12.
79. *R.V.*, I.127.6; IV.41.6; V.33.4; VI.25.4; X.30.3; 142.3 etc. *AV.*, X.6.33; 10.8; XIV.2.14 etc.
80. *R.V.*, I.127.6.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, VII.49.2.
83. *A.V.*, I.6.4; XIX.2.2.
84. *Ibid.*, IV.15.1.8.
86. *T.S.*, I.6.8.1.
85. *Ibid.*, I.3.7.

(clouds) who favoured with seeds.[87] Plants used to spring up when it rained.[88] The fruit bearing plants indeed ripened, where sacrifices were performed.[89] Plants were also watered with jars, full of waters.[90] The *Ṛgveda* informs about artificially made wells,[91] called *avata*, which were full of water. They were sometimes covered.[92] These wells were used for irrigation purposes as well. A wheel made of stone (*áśmacakra*) *was* attached with a strap (*Varatrā*)[93] and a pail (*kośa*)[94] and was used to raise water, which was then poured (*sinc*) into buckets (*āhāva*), made of wood.[95]

The use of manures was also not unknown in the later Vedic age.[96] In this period, the dung of animal was used as a fertilizer.[97] Labourer[98] was employed to throw it in the field. In fact, the Aryans did not need it much, as the land was then virgin and was very fertile indeed.

Main grains mentioned by the Saṃhitās are rice (Vrīhi) or (Taṇḍula), barley (Yava), beans (Mudga or

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87. *A.V.*, VII.7.12.
88. *S.B.*, I.7.1.8.
89. *Ibid.*, XIII.11.1.10.
90. *Ibid.*, VII.2.6.19-24.
91. *R.V.*, I.55.8; 85.10-11; 116.9.22; IV.17.16 Cf. *Nirukta* V.26.
92. *R.V.*, I.55.8.
93. *Ibid.*, 10.101.5.
94. *Ibid.*, 10.101.7.
95. *Ibid.*, 10.101.6-7.
96. *A.V.*, III.14.3.4; XIX.31.3.
97. *Ibid.*, 6.14.3; 6.14.4.
98. *Ibid.*, XII.4.9.

Khalva), Godhūma, Nīvāra, Priyaṅgu, Masūra, Śyāmāka and others. Cucumbers (Urvāru, Urvaruka) were also known.[99]

The *T. Saṃhitā*[100] informs us about the different seasons of the sowing and the cutting of crops. Barley ripened in summer, sown naturally in winter. Rice was sown in the rains and ripened in the autumn. Beans and sesamum were grown along with barley as it is done in the modern age. Thus, mainly there were two crops,[101] and harvesting was done usually twice in a year. *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*[102] informs that the winter crop was ripe by the month of Chaitra (March--April).

Probably, the cultivation of fruit-trees (Vṛkṣa) was also not unknown. The plucking of ripe fruits is referred to in the *Ṛgveda.*[103] We come across such descriptions as 'ripe branches[104] (pakva Śākhā) and "Vṛkṣa-pakva" (tree ripe) even in the *Ṛgveda.*[105] Plants, laden with bloom and good fruits are referred to in the V.S.[106] The frequent mention of the jujube (Karkandhu, Kuvala and Badara) presupposes their plantation. In the *S.B.* there are few descriptions which informs us about the plantation. The *S.B.* once says that when Prajāpati performed the first offering, a Vikaṅkaṭa tree (flacourtia sopida) sprang forth from that place.[107] Another description of the *S.B.* is again worth-quoting.

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99. *V.S.,* XVIII.12. A list of grains are given here.
100. *T.S.,* VII.2.10.2.
101. *Ibid.,* V.1.7.3.
102. *Kauś. B.,* XIX.3; Cf. Keith, *Sāṃkh. Āraṇyaka,* 81.n.1.
103. *R.V.,* III.45.4.
104. *Ibid.,* I.8.8.
105. *Ibid.,* IV.205.
106. *V.S.,* XI.48.
107. *S.B.,* VI.6.3.1; See also *Vāj. S.,* XI.71.

It informs us about the sowing of the seeds and plantation. It runs thus—

"And the sprinkling water which remains, he pours into the hole; for a pit that is dug is sacred to the Fathers.

He then sinks it (in the hole)....He thus plants it with the in-breathing and out-breathing. He then presses it firmly all round. He presses it so as to be level with the ground: with an (Ordinary) hole (round trees for watering) it is higher than the ground. He then pours water thereon; wherever in digging they wound or injure this (earth) water being a means of soothing there he soothes it by that means of soothing, water, there, he heals it by waters; therefore he pours water thereon."[108]

He further describes—

'Three (jarfuls) he pours both on the ploughed and on the unploughed ground . . . Fifteen jarfuls of water he pours out. He then sows all (kinds of) herbs (seeds) . . . It is (seed) of all herbs—all herbs means all food; he thus puts all kinds of food into him... By means of Udumbara-jar (he sows the seed). He sows it with anuṣṭubh (verses).

"On the ploughed ground he sows, whence food ripens on ploughed ground. With three (verses) he sows both on the ploughed and on the unploughed ground."[109]

Thus, it is evident that the trees were grown. Seeds were sown with all the care and the plantation was done on a large scale. In fact the plantation of groves was considered as a sacred and religious act. Excavation of tanks and plantation of trees were called "iṣṭāpūrta" which was taken as a sacrifice.

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108. *S.B.,* III.6.1.7-19.

109. *Ibid.,* VII.2.4.19-24.

Probably, gardens were also maintained during this period. There is a description in the *S. B.* from which we can imagine the plan of a garden. It describes a burial spot and prescribes—

"Let there be beautiful objects at the back (on ground), for beautiful objects mean offspring . . . . for water is a beautiful object."[110]

He makes it on salt (barren) soil, for salt means seed, the productive thus makes him partake in productiveness:

On such (ground) as is filled with roots . . . It is (sod) of Vīrin (Andropogon muricatus) and other grasses, for thus the Fathers' share in this (earth) is not excessive.

Let him not put it near (where grows) Bhūmipāśa or reeds (or Aśmagandhā or Adhyāṇḍā or Pṛiṣṇiparṇi (speckled leaf, Hemionitis cordifolia); nor let him make it near either an Aśvattha (Ficus religiosa) or a Vibhītaka (Terminalia bellerica) or a Tilvaka (Symplocos racemosa) or Sphūrjaka (Diospyros embryopteris) or a Haridru (Pinus deodora) or a Nyagrodha (Ficus indica) or any other (trees) of evil name so as to avoid (such) names from a desire of good luck."[111]

Usually, there was one crop of fruits in the trees, but the Udumbara tree had "fruits which ripen three times a year."[112] Some herbs used to grow thrice in spring, in the rainy season and in the autumn.[113] The roots of the herbs were dug[114] many times in a year.

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110. *S.B.*, XIII.8.1.13.
111. *Ibid.*, XIII.8.1.13-16.
112. *A.B.*, V.24; Eggeling, *S.B.*, Pt. VI. p. 257, foot note 1.
113. *S.B.*, VII.2.4.26.
114. *A.V.*, III.181-2.

Some traces of the genesis of the science of Phytopathology are available in the Vedic literature. We get such references for the first time in the *Ṛgveda*.[115] It mentions a worm called Kapanā that destroys the leaves of trees.[116] The *Atharvaveda* refers to the destruction of corns by various kinds of reptiles and vermins[117] namely Upakvasa, (Abnoxious insect), Jabhya (snapper), tarda (borer), Vyadvarāḥ (rodents) Samaṅka (hook), the mole and some others which destroy the crops. Sāyaṇa, commenting on it, enumerates some of those pestiferous insects. It includes Mūṣaka (rat), Śalabha, Pataṅga, Ṭiṭṭibbha, Kīṭa, Koṭika, Hariṇa, Śalyaka, Godha, etc. which destroy the crops. These insects injure the young shoots. The *Atharvaveda* has a hymn which was to be used against these creatures. It runs thus—

"Smite, O. Aśvins, the borer, the Samaṅka, the rat; split their head; crush in their ribs, lest they eat the barley, shut up their mouth, then make fearlessness for the grain.

Hey, borer, hey, locust! hey, grinder: upakvasa as a priest (brahman) an unfinished oblation, not eating this barley, go up away, doing no harm.

O lord of borers, lord of vaghās, with arid jaws do ye (pl.) listen to me; what devourers (vyadvarā) there are of the forest, and whatever devourers ye are, all them do we grind up."[118]

The farmers had to face some more troubles against their crops. Birds destroyed their crops. The *Ṛgveda* informs

115. *R.V.*, V.54.6.

116. *Nirukta* VI-4. Cf. Max Muller, *Sacred Books of the East*, 32, p.330.

117. *A.V.*, VI.50.

118. *A.V.*, VI.50.

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that wild animals destroy the plants with their teeth[119]. Fire was another great menace to the trees. Excessive rain or drought was another significant source of the damage to the crops.

The *AV.* contains some spells to check these evils.[120] But, it should be admitted that no scientific method was evolved by this time to check these calamities—which occurred frequently during these centuries. There is no mention of any kind of medical solution which could kill insects and save crops from them.

119. *R.V.*, V.54.6.

120. *A.V.*, VI.50.142; VII.11.

A BRIEF NOTE ON BṚHASPATI AND UŚANAS AS QUOTED IN THE EPIC

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The author examines stray references to the teachings of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas mainly in the *Mahābhārata* and tries to draw an outline of their political views as known to the characters of the Epic.

Bṛhaspati and Uśanas, the two masters of ancient Indian science of polity have been frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* at different places and in different contexts. On the basis of such references in the Epic and other ancient texts scholars have attempted to draw their own conclusions regarding their ideas. On the basis of some selected references to the views attributed to these ancient teachers in the *Mahābhārata* and other ancient Indian political texts, Kane concluded that "the rājaśāstra of Bṛhaspati was a work in mixed prose and verse like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, that it embraced all topics that fall to be treated under Rājadharma and that it was one of the most popular works on Rājadharma in the times of the *Mahābhārata,* Kauṭilya and for several centuries thereafter."[1] Though he has not given

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1. Kane, P. V., "*The Rājaśāstras Of Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa*", Journal of the University of Bombay, September, 1942, Vol. XI (New Series) Part 2, P. 79.

a similar categorical opinion regarding the work of Uśanas, but his following observation leaves us in no doubt that he holds a similar opinion regarding the work of Uśanas also. He has stated, "just as Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* was discovered . . . it is to be fervently hoped that the works of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas, which appear to have been available to writers as late as the 15th century, will come to light in the years to come."[2] But a critical analysis of the references pertaining to Bṛhaspati and Uśanas in the Mahābhārata shows that the Epic has not drawn from a single book attributed to these ancient thinkers. Similarly, E. W. Hopkins, on the basis of certain references in the Mahābhārata in which Bṛhaspati and Uśanas are mentioned together as authorities on the art of warfare, has remarked that "Bṛhaspati and Uśanas are quoted often enough to make us certain that a military code must have been composed by them."[3] But as both Bṛhaspati and Uśanas have been quoted by Kauṭilya as authorities on the art of warfare,[4] it is likely that the Mahābhārata is referring to these two early *arthaśāstra* thinkers. A study of the Mahābhārata shows that the views attributed to Bṛhaspati and Uśanas in the Epic belong to different traditions. The composers of the Mahābhārata, it seems, have drawn upon not only the traditions of *dharma* and *artha,* but they have also attempted to attribute to these ancient teachers such ideas which belonged to, what Winternitz has called, "the floating mass of ancient gnomic poetry".[5]

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2. Kane, P. V., *Ibid.,* p. 79.

3. Hopkins, E. W., *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Acient India,* JAOS, Vol. XIII, p. 202.

4. *Arthaśāstra,* X.6.1-2

5. Winternitz, M., *Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra,* in Asutosh Memorial Volume (Patna, 1926-28), p. 47.

Bṛhaspati

In the Vedic texts Bṛhaspati was mentioned as a divinity, 'lord of prayer',[6] the preceptor of gods[7] and also as the author of a heretical philosophy.[8] In the Brāhmaṇas a sacrifice called *Bṛhaspati—Sava* was prescribed for a priest who desired to become a purohita.[9] In the Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya paid his respects to Bṛhaspati in the very beginning[10] and mentioned him in the text as one of the early teachers of the *arthaśāstra* tradition who founded a school called in the text as the Bārhaspatyāḥ. Kauṭilya cited the opinions of the Bārhaspatyāh six times in the Arthaśāstra.[11] The followers of Bṛhaspati, according to Kauṭilya, believed that "economics and the science of politics are the only sciences,"[12] because "the Vedic lore is only a cloak for one conversant with the ways of the world".[13] Bṛhaspati as an early *arthaśāstra* teacher is mentioned also in the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra[14] and the Pañcatantra.[15] According to Kāmandaka, Brhaspati was the originator of the theory of the seven elements of the

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6. Macdonell, A. A., and Keith, A. B., *Vedic Index,* Vol. II, p. 72.

7. *Maitrī up.* VII.9.

8. Ranade, R. D., *A Constructive Survey Of Upanishadic Philosophf* (2nd. ed. 1968), p. 22.

9. *Tait Br.* II. 7.1.2; *Pañ. Br.* XVII. 11.4; also in the *Mbh.* XII. 36.15.

10. *"Oṃ namaḥ Śukra-Bṛhaspatibhyām."*

11. *Artha.* I.2.4-5; I.15.48; II.7.13; III.11.46; III.17.13; X.6.2; XV.1.22.

12. *Artha.* I.2.4.

13. *Artha.* I.2.5.

14. *Kām. Nīti.,* VII.5; VII.26; XI.67 etc.

15. *Pañcatantra,* I.14; II.9.56; IV.19.

state.[16] In the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana Bṛhaspati is said to be an authority on artha.[5] In the *Smṛti* tradition also he is recognized as an authority on polity. Dr. Jolly collected about 700 verses of Bṛhaspati and got them published in the S.B.E. series under the title "The Fragments of Bṛhaspati".[18] This *smṛti* is generally regarded as a late work. According to Dr. Jolly, it was written sometime between 1st Century A.D. and 6th or 7th Centuries A.D.[19] In its content the Bṛhaspati Smṛti follows very closely the Manu Smṛti and is called by Bühler "a *Vārttika* on our text of Manu".[20] The views of Bṛhaspati are also cited by the commentators and nibandha writers.[21] In the *Paurāṇika* tradition Bṛhaspati is mentioned as the preceptor of goods[22] and a summary of the nīti of Bṛhaspati is given in the Garuḍa Puraṇa.[23] F. W. Thomas edited a work named as "The Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra" in 1921, but it is generally regarded as a late work.[24] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has also edited a smṛti of Bṛhaspati under the title of "Bṛhaspati Smṛti (Reconstructed)" in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series[25]

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16. *Kām. Nīti.* VII.5.

17. *Kāmasūtra,* I.1.7.

18. *The Fragments of Bṛhaspati,* S.B.E., Vol. XXXIII.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 275-76.

20. Bühler, G., *The Laws of Manu,* S.B.E., Vol. XXV (reprint, Motilal Banarsidas, 1964), p. CVIII.

21. Cf., Viśvarūpa on *Yāj.* II.38, 39, 47; Medhātithi on Manu VII.43; IX.326; Caṇḍeśvara in his *Rājanīti Ratnākara* refers to Bṛhaspati, see, Ghoshal U. N., *Hist. of Ind. Pol. Ideas* (2nd ed.) p. 389.

22. *Matsya.* 25.6 f; *Padma.,* VI.8.44-6, 50.

23. *Garuḍa, chaps.* 108-114.

24. Cf. Kane, P. V., *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. I., p. 126.

25. Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V., *Bṛhaspati* (Reconstructed). the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXXV, Baroda, 1941.

From these references it seems that Bṛhaspati was recognized as an authority in the *dharmaśāstra* and also in the *arthaśāstra* tradition. In the *Vedic* literature, however, there is no mention of Bṛhaspati as a political thinker. It was, perhaps for the first time, that the *arthaśāstra* tradition recognized him as a founder of the science of polity. It was at a later period that he came to be mentioned as a *smṛti* writer. Scholars have differed in their opinion whether there was only one Bṛhaspati who was associated both with the *dharmaśāstra* and the *arthaśāstra* traditions or there were two authors of the same name belonging to these traditions. Kane has stated that "whether the two works on *arthaśāstra* and *dharma* were composed by the same Bṛhaspati cannot be determined. It looks probable that they were composed by different authors".[26] But according to K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar there was only one author whose name was used in both these traditions.[27]

In the Mahābhārata Bṛhaspati is quoted as an authority both in the earlier books and the later books.[28] He is the eldest of the three sons of Aṅgirā and is, therefore, called Āṅgiras.[29] As the *purohita* of Indra,[30] he is said to have advised him on the science of polity.[31] He is also said to be a

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26. Kane, P. V., *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 125.

27. Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V., *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 183-184.

28. The views of Bṛhaspati are quoted in Bks. II, III, V, VI, IX, XII and XIII of the *Mahābhārata*.

29. *Mbh.* III.207.17; 298.2. The *Ṛgveda* also refers to him as an Āngiras; Aśvaghosa mentions him as the son of Angiras. See, Kangle, R. P., *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśastra*, Pt. III, p. 7.

30. *Mbh.* I.54.11; V.11; XII.29.17; 124.20 ff; 329.16.

31. *Mbh.* II.46.9; XII.85; 104.

sage[32] and a planet.[33] He is described as the master of different branches of knowledge[34] and renowned for his wisdom.[35] The Mahābhārata recognizes him as a reputed authority on polity, art of government and statecraft[36] and as the author of a *śāstra* dealing with the science of politics.[37] In XII 58.2 he is one of the *rājaśāstra praṇetāraḥ*; in XII. 59.90 he is said to have abridged the *Śāstra* of Brahmā which came to be called the Bārhaspatya—Śāstra; and in XII. 322. 42-44 he is said to have based his *śāstra* on that prepared by the seven sages. In the later didactic books of the Mahābhārata, Bṛhaspati is associated with such ideas which belong to the *dharmaśāstra* tradition.[38] It may be said that these later books recognize him as a *smṛti* writer. As the date of the Bṛhaspati Smṛti is comparatively late, it also shows that these didactic books were added to the Mahābhārata at a later date.

In the following pages we will discuss the social and political ideas of Bṛhaspati as quoted in the different books of the Mahābhārata.

In Bk. II Bṛhaspati is quoted twice by Duryodhana on King's policies towards his enemy. In II. 50.14 he is said

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32. *Mbh.* V.48.2, 6.

33. *Mbh.* VI.3.13; VIII.68.49; IX.40.39; XII.191.5 Also see, Pargiter, *Ancient Historical Tradition*, pp. 186-88.

34. *Mbh.*, I.158.26; III.33.57; 149.29 etc.

35. Prominent characters of the Mbh. are often said to be as wise as Bṛhaspati, e.g., *Bṛhaspati Samaṃ matau* (III.261.10); *Bṛhaspatisamo naye* (IV.53.4); *Bṛhaspatisamaṃ buddhyā* (V.154.2); also see, Mbh. VI.99.22; VII.814; 166.8; VIII.26.49 etc.

36. e.g., *Mbh.* II.66.7-8; V.33.60-61; XII.140.16-17.

37. *Mbh.* XII.38.10; 57.6-7; XIII.39.7.

38. *Mbh.* XIII.61.49 ff (on gift etc.); 64.7; 75.4 ff; 112-114 (on *Karma-vipāka*).

to be of the opinion that as the royal conduct is different from the conduct of ordinary persons, all means are proper for the destruction of an enemy; and in II. 66.7 he is said to be of the view that an enemy should be destroyed by any means, fair or foul. In both these references, thus, he is quoted to justify King's unrighteous conduct towards the enemy. The supreme end of a King should be to protect his own interests and in order to achieve this end he should destroy his enemy by any means. Such ideas are not found in the Dharmasūtras, but Kauṭilya's view is more or less the same;[39] and, therefore, it can be said that these ideas ascribed to Bṛhaspati belong to the *arthaśāstra* tradition.

In III. 33.57 Draupadī says that her following observations are based on the *nīti* of Bṛhaspati. Though the role of fate in human affairs cannot be denied, yet without activity nothing can be achieved and so, one should emphasize endeavour than fate. A king should make peace with a stronger enemy in order to gain time and should attack him at the right opportunity. He should always try to know the weaknesses of his enemy etc. etc. Here again, Bṛhaspati is quoted in connection with right policy towards an enemy and as this subject belongs to the *arthaśāstra* tradition, Bṛhaspati may be said to be a thinker of that tradition.

In V. 33.60-61 Vidura says that according to Bṛhaspati four matters became effective immediately, viz., the thought occurring to a god, the might of the wise, the discipline of those who have mastered *vidyās* and the destruction of evil doers. In V. 54.63 Bṛhaspati is said to be of the opinion that "one should fight with an army that is so small as to be less by one third of the invaders army".

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39. See, *Artha.* chaps. XII and XIV.

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In VI. 19. 4-5 Yudhiṣṭhira says that according to Bṛhaspati if the enemy's army were smaller then the King should array his army in a compact way but if the enemy's army were more numerous then he should spread his army accordingly. In case the King had to fight with a bigger army, then *sūcī-mukha* array recommended. It shows that Bṛhaspati was an authority in the art of warfare. In VI. 46.40 it is said that he instructed Indra about *Krauñca* array.

In VI. 103. 94-95 Bṛhaspati is said to be of the view that "one should kill an *ātatāyin* even though he be old and one's own elder and endowed with good qualities, if he intends to kill one." This *ātatāyin* rule which is based on the idea of self-preservation is attributed to Uśanas in XII. 56.29. It is possible, therefore, that it belonged to the floating mass of poetry.

In IX. 3.42 when Karṇa is killed and the Kaurava army is depleted, Kṛpācārya advises Duryodhana to make truce with the Pāṇḍavas. He quotes Bṛhaspati :

hīyamānena vai sandhiḥ paryeṣṭavyaḥ samena ca |
vigraho vardhamānena nītireṣā Bṛhaspateḥ ||

In XII. 21.1-5 sage Devasthāna quoted a discourse of Bṛhaspati with Indra on the nature of *dharma*. As this passage merely embodies general principles of morality it may be said to belong to the *dharmaśāstra* tradition.

In XII. 23. 14-15 Vyāsa quotes a gāthā of Bṛhaspati on the virtue of *svadharma* : "As a snake swallows rats lying in holes, so the earth swallows two, viz., the king who does not fight and a Brāhmaṇa who does not go out (to live in a forest to practice austerities)". This verse is attributed to different persons in different books of the Mahābhārata. In II. 50.21 Duryodhana utters it without quoting any autho-

rity; in V. 33.49 it is attributed to Vidura; in XII. 57. 2-3 to Uśanas; and in XIII. 36.16 to Soma. It may so said, therefore, that it belonged to the floating mass of poetry.

In XII. 56. 38-39 Bhīṣma quotes a verse from the Bārhaspatya Śāstra on kingly conduct : "A king should not always forgive, because as Bṛhaspati has said, one who always forbears is treated with contempt by mean persons, as an elephant driver always desires to sit on the very head of the elephant." In XII. 57. 6-7 Bhīṣma quotes a verse from Bṛhaspati's Rājadharma : "unfailing punishment has to be meted out even to one's guru, when he becomes puffed up, ceases to discriminate between what is right and what is not and when he resorts to a wrong path". In XII. 58. 13-15 Bhīṣma quotes Bṛhaspati that energetic undertakings of kings were the root of *rājadharma*. According to Bṛhaspati, nectar was secured by energetic undertakings, the *asuras* were killed by means of it, the great Indra secured pre-eminence by it in the heavens as well as here. An endeavouring man has always his sway over those who do not endeavour.

In XII. 68 Bhīṣma quotes a long discourse that had taken place between king Vasumanā and Bṛhaspati. King Vasumanā wanted to know how people progressed, how they decayed and how they attained imperishable bliss. Bṛhaspati in his reply stressed the necessity of a king for progress and happiness of the people. In absence of a king, he said, anarchy would overtake among men making them unhappy. But when they were protected by a king order and happiness would prevail. King should always, therefore, be respected as a great god among men. The royal functions are comparable with the functions of the Fire, the Sun, the Mṛtyu, Kubera and Yama. For performing his function of protec-

tion well able advisers be appointed by the king. In this passage the importance of kingship is emphasized. The idea of *mātsyanyāya* hinted at in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[40] was developed by the Buddhists[41] and the thinkers of the *artha-śāstra* school,[42] and still later by the *smṛtis*.[43] The Mahābhārata refers to this theory at other places also but does not connect it with Bṛhaspati.[44] The idea, therefore, cannot be said to be the special contribution of the *arthaśāstra* school. The functional divinity of the king belongs to the *smṛti* tradition.[45]

In XII. 69.22 Bhīṣma quotes Bṛhaspati on the use of different *upāyas* as follows : "A wise king who wants to retain his kingdom should always avoid war; Bṛhaspati declares that one should secure one's purpose (or wealth) with the three *upāyas*." This idea that war should be avoided as far as possible and only resorted to when other three *upāyas* had failed is found in the Mahābhārata at several other places also.[46] In Kāmandakīya Nītisāra IX. 59 and Pañcatantra III. 12 this view is explicitly ascribed to Bṛhaspati.

In XII. 69. 69-71 two verses of Āṅgiras on king's duty of protection are quoted : "Having performed all work, having protected the earth and the subjects well (the king) easily prospers in the next world. Of what use is *tapas* to

40. *Śat. Br.* XI, 1.6.24.

41. *Dīgha Nikāya,* III. pp. 84-95.

42. *Artha.* I.13.5-7.

43. Manu, VII.14-20; Nārada, XVIII.15-16.

44. See, *Mbh.* XII.59.15 ff; 67; 91.8 ff.

45. Manu IX.303-311; Nārada XVIII.26-31. Also, *Matsya Purāṇa,* 226.9-12.

46. *Mbh.* III.232.15 ff; V. 148; XVI.138.9.

that king or of what use are even sacrifices to him, who had not guarded his subjects well. All his dharmas were undone if his people were not well guarded". Kings duty of protection was accepted in *Dharma-sūtras* and was emphasized later in all the texts dealing with politics. Kauṭilya has said, "(carrying out) his own duty by the king, who protects the subjects according to law, leads to heaven: of one who does not protect or who inflicts an unjust punishment, (the condition) is the reverse of this".[47] In the *Smṛtis* of Manu[48] and *Yājñavalkya*[49] also protection of the people has been considered as the primary duty of the king.

In XII. 85 Bhīṣma refers to a discourse that had taken place between Indra and Bṛhaspati. On Indra's enquiry as to what was the secret of authority and fame, Bṛhaspati emphasized *sāntvam* Equanimity, pleasant manners, liberality and suavity in speech enable a king to satisfy all and, thus, to attain his purpose.

In XII. 104 dealing with the question of a king's policy towards his enemies Bṛhaspati is said to have maintained that an enemy should be destroyed by any means. The king should never trust his enemy and should always try to weaken his ranks by secret means. He should increase his strength, divide the enemy's rank and strike at the right opportunity. The king should adopt a double policy towards his enemy, i.e., apparently friendly but secretly always attempting to destroy him. He should not fight with many enemies at the same time, but should divide them and destroy them one by one. The views attributed to Bṛhaspati in this chapter, are strikingly similar to the views attributed to Kaṇika

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47. *Artha.* III.1.41.
48. Manu. VII. 2, 14 etc.
49. Yā. I.323.

Bharadvāja in Mahābhārata XII. 138. Such ideas are alien to the *Dharmasūtras* but are found in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. In Kāmandakīya V. 89 the ultimate conclusion of the science of politics according to Bṛhaspati is said to be to put trust in no one. Similarly, Bṛhaspati in Mahābhārata XII. 104 emphasizes that *aviśvāsa* is the essence of polity. This view that the king should trust no body was not confined to Bṛhaspati only, but seems to be a general principle of the *arthaśāstra* school.

On the sources of dharma, in Mahābhārata XII. 140. 16ff Bhīṣma refers to *Bārhaspatyam jñānam* and says that according to Bṛhaspati *dharma* should be decided neither by reason only nor by the *śāstra* alone (*na dharmavacanam vācā naiva buddyā ca . . .*). This attempt to reconcile the principle of the infallibility of the canon with reason is an obvious departure from the stand point of the *Dharmasūtras*.

Apart from the passages referred to above attributed to Bṛhaspati which contain the teachings on matters political, there are a number of other occasions where views of Bṛhaspati on subjects not connected with the problem of government and statecraft are stated. For example, XII. 164. 12 on the various means of acquisition of wealth; XII. 194-199 on the nature of the Highest Being, soul, origin of the world etc.; XIII. 64.7 and 75.4 on gifts; XIII. 112-114 a discussion on *Karma-Vipāka;* XIII, 116.15 on meat-eating etc.; XIII. 148. 28-33 on the consequences of righteous and evil deeds. But these have no relevance to our purpose.

We may say, in conclusion, that the views attributed to Bṛhaspati in the earlier books of the Mahābhārata belong generally to the *arthaśāstra* tradition. Bṛhaspati togeher with Uśanas is quoted in these books as an authority on the art of warfare as well as on King's policies towards his enemy.

But in Bk. XII, he is quoted as an authority on matters belonging to both *Dharma* and *Artha.* However, in Bk. XIII which is generally regarded as the latest book of the Epic Bṛhaspati is mentioned several times on matters concerning *Dharma,* but never on matters concerning *Artha.* Bks. XII and XIII seem to have been influenced by the Bṛhaspati Smṛiti and it also shows that these books are later additions to the Epic. A study of these ideas attributed to Bṛhaspati in the Mahābhārata makes it clear that the Epic recognizes two authorities under this name—one belonging to the *dharmaśāstra* and the other to the *arthaśāstra* traditions.

Uśanas

In the Ṛgveda Uśanas Kāvya is mentioned as an ancient seer,[50] and in the Brāhmaṇas he is said to be the *purohita* of the *asuras.*[51] In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya he is recognized as one of the early *arthaśāstra* teachers[52] whose followers are mentioned by Kauṭilya eight times as *Auśanasaḥ.*[53] The followers of Uśanas held the view that "the science of politics is only science" as "with it are bound undertakings connected with all the sciences."[54] The views of Uśanas are cited also in the Kāmandakīya.[55] Kane has mentioned more

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50. *Ṛgveda,* I.51.10; IV.16.2; VI.20.11; IX.87.3; A.V., IV. 29.6. Also see, Lakhera, M. P., *Kavi Uśanā in Veda and Avesta,* in Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendrikya Sanskrita Vidyapeetha, Vol. XXIX (centenary volume), pp. 307-314.

51. *Tait Saṁ.* II.5.85; Pañ. Br. VII.5.20.

52. In the very opening sentence of his *Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya* salutes Śukra and Uśanas.

53. See, *Artha.* I.2.6-7; I.15.49; II.7.15; III.6.5; III.11.44, 17.4; XV.1.42; XV.1.52.

54. *Artha.* I.2.56.

55. *Kām. Nīti.* VII.22 (on maṇḍala).

than one mss. of "an Auśanasa--dharmaśāstra" both in prose and verse which deal with such *smṛti* ideas as *varṇa dharma* and vocations of different castes.[56] The commentators like Medhātithi[57] and Kullūka[58] have quoted the views of Uśanas on numerous occasions. Caṇḍeśvara in his Rājaniti Ratnākara has mentioned Śukra as an author of a *rājanīti* work.[59]

The extant Śukranītisāra is ascribed to Bhārgava or Śukra, but this work is generally regarded as a late compilation.[60]

These references show that in ancient India there were more than one tradition associated with the name of Uśanas. It is in the *arthaśāstra* tradition for the first time that Uśanas appears as a writer on polity. But he is mentioned as a *smṛti* writer at a late period. There must have been a difference between Uśanas, the arthaśāstra teacher and Uśanas the *smṛti* writer, as the views attributed to these two are not only divergent but also contradictory. Uśanas, the *arthaśāstra* thinker rejects *trayī* as a science; but Uśanas the *smṛti* writer accepts the theory of varṇas based on *trayī*. As Uśanas had come to be recognized along with Bṛhaspati as one of the two most important propounders of the *artha-*

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56. Kane, P. V., *Ibid.*, Vol. I. pp. 110-17.

57. Medhā. on Manu. VIII.50, 285.

58. Kulluka on Manu. VII.154. Also see Mitā. on *Yāj.* III. 260.

59. See, Ghoshal, U. N., *Ibid.*, p. 389.

60. Kane, P. V., *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 116; Ghoshal, U. N., *History of Indian Political Ideas,* p. 495; also see, Lallanji Gopal, *The Śukranīti—a nineteenth century text,* in BSOAS, Vol. XXV, Pt. 3, 1962.

śāstra doctrine, it is not surprising that later on a Dharma-sūtra bearing his name should have been compiled.[61]

In the Mahābhārata Uśanas is quoted as an authority both in the earlier and the later books.[62] According to the genealogical account in the beginning of Bk. I,[63] which is said to be based on a *Paurāṇika* tradition,[64] Uśanas was the son of Bhṛgu and was the father of four sons and a daughter, Devayānī. He is known in the Mahābhārata by various names, viz., Uśanas, Śukra, Bhārgava and Kāvya.[65] He is described as the Purohita of the *asuras*,[66] who secured the welfare of their kingdom by various religious rites[67] and also advised the asura King regarding polity and the statecraft.[68] Though Uśanas is generally associated with *asura*, he is also said to be the well-wisher of the devas[69] and to have

61. Kane, P. V., *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 111 ff.

62. The views of Uśanas are quoted in the *Mbh.* Bks. II, IX, XII and XII.

63. *Mbh.* I.59.35; 60.40-43.

64. *Mbh.* 1159.37; *Purāṇe Saṅśrutaḥ.*

65. See, *Mbh.* I.94.33; III.149.29; VIII.22.11, IX.57.12; XII.38.10; 57.2 etc. for Uśanas; *Mbh.* I.59.35; 60.40; 71.1, III. 83.22, XII.140.33, XII.270. etc. for Śukra; in *Mbh.* XII.278 a mythological account is given to explain how Uśanas became Śukra; *Mbh.* III.5.2, XII.124.23, XII.203.18 etc. for Bhārgava; *Mbh.* I. 71.10, II.55.3, 11, XII.59.91, XIV.59.13 etc., for Kāvya. But in *Mbh.* XII.85.41 among eight sons of Kavi, Kāvya and Uśanas are named separately.

66. *Mbh.* I.59.35, XII.270, XII.329.15; XIV.59.13.

67. *Mbh.* I.71.7; XII.270, XII.329.15; XIV.59.13.

68. *Mbh.* II.55.10 c; XII.124.33 ff; 137.66, 68.

69. *Mbh.* I.60.42 f, XII.124.23 ff.

taught Kaca, the son of Bṛhaspati, the *mṛta-sanjīvinī vidyā* even at the risk of annoying the *asuras*.[70] At one place he is said to have been appointed by Brahmā as a planet for the welfare of the three worlds.[71] He is regarded as an epitom of wisdom[72] and is mentioned not only as a reputed teacher of the science of politics but also as the author of a *śāstra* dealing with that science.[73] In XII 58.2 Kāvya is listed among the seven *rājaśāstra praṇetāraḥ*; in XII.59.91 he is one of those who abridged the original *śāstra* of Brahmā; in XII.322.42-43 it is said that the *śāstra* of Uśanas is based on the original *śāstra* prepared by the sages. The Mahābhārata XII.203.18 states that after the end of the age-cycle when the *Vedas* and all other knowledges were lost, Bṛhaspati was the first to know the *Vedāṅgas* and *Bhārgava* was the first to declare the knowledge of the *nītiśāstra*. However, in the war portions of the Mahābhārata which are regarded as the earliest books of the Epic, Uśanas is mentioned together with Bṛhaspati as an authority on the art of war.[74] In the XIIIth Bk. he is quoted on matters relating to fasting, penance, religious worship etc.,[75] which shows that by that time a tradition of Śukra as a *dharmaśāstra* writer had also been well-established.

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70. *Mbh.* I.71.19 ff.

71. *Mbh.* I.60.40-41; also see, *Mbh.* V.112.3, VI.30.14, VII.60.20, XII.110.17; 191.5.

72. *Mbh.* III.5-2, *Prajñā ca te Bhārgavasyeva śuddhā;* also see, *Mbh.* XV.35.13.

73. *Mbh.* XII.38.10; 322.42-43; XIII.39.7.

74. *Mbh.* VII.5.17; 8.14; VII.12.38; 11.11; also see, *Mbh.* III.269.5.

75. *Mbh.* XIII.101; 106.38; see also, XII.270.15 ff; 271; where Śukra is said to have explained the magnanimity of Viṣṇu.

We now consider the social and political ideas as attributed to Uśanas in the Mahābhārata.

In II.55.3-4 Vidura quotes Kāvya (*Kāvyāmgiram*) to warn Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the evil consequences of the game of dice. He tells the old King that as Duryodhan was greedy and wanted to deprive the Pāṇḍavas of all their belongings, such a policy was bound to create enmity with the Pāṇḍavas and might be the cause of the downfall of Kauravas. Kāvya had said that a collector of honey, after seeing a bee-hive on a tree top, attempts to secure honey but forgets the danger of falling from tree.

In II.55.11-13 a story said to have been narrated by Kāvya to the *asuras* is referred to by Vidura to advise and persuade the Kuru King not to coerce the Pāṇdvas in order to gain more wealth as it would derive them to exasperation.

In both these citations, Vidura quotes Kāvya in support of fair play and justice in royal conduct. Both in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛtis* a king is advised to avoid *vyasnas.* But in the *arthaśāstra* tradition a policy of fair play and justice towards an enemy was not praised.

In IX.57.13 Kṛṣṇa quotes a verse of Uśanas (*Uśanasā gītaḥ*): "One should be afraid of the remnants of an hostile army, which turn back (to fight), though broken, and which desires to take life, since they are bent upon one object only". The idea in the verse is the same as in the Arthaśāstra X.3.57. It will not be without interest to see the similarity of language between these two verses. In the Arthaśāstra it reads :

"*Punarāvartamānasya nirāśasya ca jīvite,*

adhāryo jāyate vegastasmādbhagnam na pīḍayet." (X.3.57)

The Mahābhārata says :

"*Punarāvartamānānām bhagnānām jīvitaiṣiṇām,*
bhetavyamariśeṣāṇāmekāyanagatā hi te". (IX.57.13)

In XII.56.28—30 Uśanas is said to be of the opinion that "a King who has regard for *dhrama* should, in accordance with his duty, punish in battle one who comes with upraised weapon, even though the latter may be a master of the *Vedas*. He who gaurds *dharma* that is about to perish (before his eyes) is to be deemed as the knower of (real) *dharma*. By doing so (i.e., by killing in battle a learned *brāhmaṇa*) he would not be deemed to be a destroyer of *dharma;* as in such a case wrath meets wrath". This ātatāyī rule occurs in the Mahābhārata at other places also and it is attributed at different places to different authorities. It is attributed to Bṛhaspati in VI.103.94-95; to the *Veda* in XII.34.19; and to Marut in V. 178.24. Hopkins has remarked that one of these two verses "is the saying found in Manu VIII. 351; the other inculcates the Mānavan doctrine that even a Brāhmaṇa learned in revealation may be slain in battle."[79] It may be suggested that these two verses based primarily on the idea of self preservation might have belonged to gnomic poetry and were attributed to different places to increase their force.

In XII. 57. 2-3 Uśanas is quoted : "As a snake swallows rats lying in hole, so the earth swallows these two, viz., the king who does not fight and a Brāhmaṇa who does not go on a journey." This verse, as we have already pointed out, is uttered by Duryodhana in II. 50.21; by Vidura in V. 33.49; by Bṛhaspati in XII. 23. 14-15; and by Soma in XIII. 36.16.

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76. Hopkins, E. W., *Professed Quotations from Manu Found in the Mahābhārata,* in JAOS, Vol. XI, p. 261.

It may, therefore, be said to belong to the floating mass of ancient poetry.

In XII. 57.41 Bhīṣma quotes a verse of Bhārgava which the latter had once told a king : "one should first secure a king, then a wife and then wealth; if there be no king (to rule) over the world whence can there be a wife or wealth." Weber thought that Bhārgava is a title of Vālmīki. Hopkins has remarked that this verse "agrees in sense and words closely enough with R. ii. 67.11 to indicate that the Mahābhārata poet of this passage, XII. 57.40, had in mind this or the original form (for it is to be noticed that the name is not fixed) of this verse in the Rāmāyaṇa".[76] But Kane has rightly pointed out that Bhārgava in this verse stands for Uśanas.[77]

In XII. 136.184-6, Palita, the wise rat, quotes two verses composed by Uśanas (*gāthe dve . . . uśanasā kṛte*) : "as regards a purpose which is common to a king and his enemy, the former may enter into an alliance with a stronger (enemy), act with care and stratagem and after the purpose is carried out he should not any longer repose trust on him. The king should protect his life in all circumstances, because if alive he would collect everything including wealth and family." This feeling of distrust as the basis of the science of polity is also emphasized in the teachings of Bṛhaspati. After quoting these verses from *uśanas* it is stated in XII. 136.187 : *"Sankṣepo nītiśāstrāṇām aviśvāsaḥ paro mataḥ."* This idea may be said to belong to the *arthaśāstra* tradition.

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77. Weber, A., *On the Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 73.

78. Hopkins, E. W., *Great Epic of India*, p. 61.

79. Kane, P. V., *Ibid.*, I. p. 61.

In XII. 137. 66-68, the wise bird quotes two verses which Uśanas had declared to Prahlāda : "those who put faith in their enemies, whether in true or untrue matters are destroyed on account of that faith, as persons who see only the honey (on a rock) are destroyed by the dry grass (with which a precepice is covered)." Here again the *arthaśāstra* principle of distrust in dealing with one's enemies has been emphasized.

In XII. 140. 20-21 Bhīṣma quotes the view of Uśanas on *dharma* which he had stated to the *asuras* in days of Yore, that one's duty or *dharma* should be determined on the basis of both reasoning and śāstra :

Śāstram prājñasya vadataḥ samūhe yātyadarśanam,

āgatāgamayā buddhyā vacanena praśasyate.

ajñānājjñānahetutvād vacanam sādhu manyate,

anapāhatamevedam nedam śāstramapārthakam.

The same view is attributed to Bṛhaspati by Bhīṣma in the same chapter (XII. 140. 16-17). It is possible that the names of these authorities are mentioned to make this opinion more authoritative.

In XII. 140.33 Bhīṣma quotes Śukra that even in times of distress the king should protect good persons and should control evil persons : In XV. 12.15 Śukra is quoted on the *vyūhas,* i.e., battle formations of armies.

It may be said in conclusion, that in the Mahābhārata the importance of Uśanas is primarily due to the fact that along with Bṛhaspati he is recognized as one of the earliest propounders of the science of politics and statecraft (nīti)

and these two authorities have been given equal weight and recognition. Therefore, it is little surprising that in the XIIIth book we find the name of Uśanas in connection with such matters as worship of gods, importance of fasting etc., which have nothing to do with matters political. It is quite likely that in later times the name of Uśanas had come to be associated with a *Smṛti*.

TWO UNPUBLISHED STONE SCULPTURES

From Bharadvāja Āśrama, Allahabad

DR. R. R. TRIPATHI

Allahabad

Bharadvāja Āśrama, said to be situated at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* etc. is a very ancient holy spot at Prayāga. Because of the advancement of urban civilization, however, what is left of the Āśrama now, is a small earthen mound with an insignificant temple at its feet. The author gives here a description of two of the ancient statues kept in this temple, one of which (that of Nṛ-Varāha), according to him, belongs to the 6th–8th centuries and the other (Agni) to the 10–11th centuries.

At present Bharadvāja Āśrama is located on a high mound just opposite to Anand Bhawan and behind the St. Anthony's Girls Intermediate College. Its situation between Jawahar Lal Nehru Road and Maharshi Dayanand Marg resembles to the confluence of two sacred rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The topography of the mound indicates that once the river Gaṅgā flowed below it. The earliest literary evidence with regards to this place is found in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. It has been referred to therein on three occasions. First, when Rāma alongwith his wife and younger brother Lakṣmaṇa, arrived at Prayāga on way to

Citrakūṭa.[1] The second reference occurs when Bharata goes to Prayāga on way to Citrakūṭa to induce Rāma to come back to Ayodhyā. While proceeding towards the confluence of two sacred rivers Bharata observed the Āśrama of Bharadvāja from one *Krośa* (two miles). He stopped his army there and went to the Āśrama alongwith his ministers.[2] He alongwith his retinue spent a beautiful night enjoying every sort of royal pleasures and comforts provided by the sage Bharadvāja.[3] The third instance of the place is found in the Yuddhakāṇḍa. After completing fourteen years of his exile, Rāma, came to the hermitage of sage Bharadvāja and bowed down before him to seek his blessings.[4]

It is rather a matter of great surprise that a place having such literary traditions did not yield any noteworthy Archaeological evidence to corroborate them. Only two stone Sculp-

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१—दारूणि परिभिन्नानि वनजैरुपजीविभिः ।
भरद्वाजाश्रमे चैते दृश्यन्ते विविधा द्रुमाः ॥
धन्विनौ तौ सुखं गत्वा लम्बमाने दिवाकरे ।
गंगायमुनयोः सन्धौ प्रापतुर्निलयं मुनेः ॥
रामस्त्वाश्रममासाद्य त्रासयन्मृगपक्षिणः ।
गत्वा मुहूर्तमध्वानं भरद्वाजमुपागमत् ॥
वा० रा० २-४८-७-९

२—भरद्वाजाश्रमं दृष्ट्वा क्रोशादेव नरर्षभ ।
बलं सर्वमवस्थाप्य जगाम सह मंत्रिभिः ॥
वा० रा० २-८४-१

३—इत्येवं रममाणानां देवानामिव नन्दने ।
भरद्वाजाश्रमे रम्ये सा रात्रिर्व्यत्यवर्तत ॥
वा० रा० २-८५-७५

४—पूर्णे चतुर्दशे वर्षे पञ्चम्यां लक्ष्मणाग्रजः ।
भरद्वाजाश्रमं प्राप्य ववन्दे नियतो मुनिम् ॥
वा० रा० ६-१२४-१ ।

tures one that of *Varāha* and the other of *Agni,* datable to 6th and 11th centuries A.D., respectively, have been unearthed from the mound and installed in two separate temples located there.

These sculptures are described as under :–

1– *Image of Agni.*

Size 83×53 c.m.

The stone sculpture representing *Agni,* the Vedic God of Fire, may be attributed to 10-11th century A.D. on stylistic grounds. The image is carved on a rectangular stone slab alongwith attendants and other figures engaged in various activities. The central standing figure may be characterized as the Fire god because of rising flames surrounding his head like an oval halo. On the right hand side of the figure stands a ram or *meṣa,* the usual vehicle of the deity. The god has a pointed beard, perforated ears and a high headdress made by gathering hair on the top of the head in the form of a *jaṭā.* He is dressed up in a single garment, the well known Indian *dhotī.* The upper part of the body is left bare.

He has a prominent abdomen. He wears a necklace, a sacred thread made of beads, hanging down from the left shoulder and passing over the right hip, armlets and bracelets, the attributes of royalty.

The right hand of the god is raised in the attitude of protection holding a rosary or *akṣamālā* while left one holds a vessel.

The various figures grouped on either sides of the deity are no less curious than the main personage. On the right side of the deity there stand a ram and a ramheaded attend-

ant in the lower most panel. On the left of the God there is a standing female figure and a male worshipper seated with folded hands in the lowermost part. The remaining portion of the slab is adorned with four figures symetrically arranged on both sides of the central image. On the right hand side of the deity, a bearded emaciated figure with a high *jaṭā* on the head, is seated on a wicker stool. Above it, at the top, a figure of the similar built of body is shown standing holding a sacrificial ladle (*sruc* or *sruvā*) probably offering oblations to the fire god.

There are two more similar figures, placed one above the other, in the same attitude on the left hand side of the deity.

The single female figure standing on the left of *Agni,* in the lowermost corner, seems to be *Svāhā,* the consort of the god.

The whole sculpture has been so badly painted by the *paṇḍās* of the temple that most of the details have become indistinct. For instance, the beard and moustaches of the figure in the photograph, have gone blurred.

This stone sculpture of *Agni* appears to be a very rare specimen because in most cases *Agni* is found alone with his vehicle, the ram.

Dr. Vogel noticed a similar stone image of *Agni* at the instance of Sir John Marshall in 1932 at Sir Eric Geddes' house at Albourne place, near Hassocks. The image was presented to Sir Eric by Nelson Wright I. C. S. He could not inform the exact provenance of the sculpture to Vogel but stated the proximity of its find spot near about Kauśāmbī. Vogel published the sculpture in *Indian antiquary*



Agni



Nṛ-Varāha

in 1933 with a photograph.[5] He attributed it to the 11th century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

The same image has been published by B. N. Sharma[6] who assigns its ownership to the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, U.S.A. and dates it in the 9th to 10th century A.D.

The image published by Vogel and Sharma has considerable resemblance with the image of the Bharadvāja Āśrama described above but the former has more satellite figures on either sides than the latter. The other points of difference are as follows :—

The Bharadvāja Āśrama image is intact while the right hand of the other image is broken. The ram faced human figure alongwith the ram on the right hand side of the deity are common to both but the Bharadvāja Āśrama sculpture on the left side of the deity preserves a female figure in place of a ram faced figure in the image published by Vogel. The latter image preserves two persons stooping with folded hands offering obeisance to the god just above the lower panels while these are absent in the Āśrama image. Two figures at the top offering oblations with *sruvā* are substantially in the same posture and make no difference except the facial features of the persons.

Below the top panel of figures offering oblations there are two emaciated bearded figures, seated on similar stools,

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5. J.Ph. Vogel, *Note on a stone image of Agni, the God of Fire, in possession of Sir Eric Geddes,* Indian Antiquary, LXII (Dec. 1933), 228-232.

6. B. N. Sharma, *Social and cultural History of Northern India,* New Delhi 1972, p. 40 and plate X.

one on each side, in both the sculptures. But the emaciated person on each side in the sculpture published by Vogel is seated on a stool in the attitude of teaching a youthful person sitting at his feet. *Agni* in both the sculptures is shown standing in the same attitude.

Several single figures of *Agni* have been noticed in the British Museum, London, Mathura Museum and State Museum Lucknow[7] but no images having such groupings as found in the sculptures pointed above have been noticed elsewhere. In this way these prove to be extremely rare specimens.

2— *Stone Image of Nṛ-Varāha.*

Size— 104×45 c. ms.

The image is carved out of a rectangular stone slab in high relief. It is shown standing facing right with the earth represented as a maiden held up on one of his crescent shaped tusks. The right leg of the boar-god is placed firmly on the palms of a male *nāga* lying in human form below, protected by a snake canopy behind his head. The right hand of the god rests on his right thigh while the left one on the hip.

He wears a short *dhotī* covering his thighs and supported at the waist with a series of chords. On the neck there is a broad *graiveyaka,* beautiful armlets on the arms and bracelets on the wrists. Upper part of the body is almost naked.

The *Bhū-devī* has curly hair as if covered with a large number of beads. She wears a *sārī* reaching her ankles

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7. Cf., for example, *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. LXII (a.b.c. and d), Dec. 1933, P. 1.2.

which is held up at the waist by a waist girdle. Her ornaments are disc like earrings, armlets, bracelets and anklets.

The whole body of Nṛ-Varāha described above is like that of a man, only the head being that of a boar. He has only two hands. The image displays a great force and the perennial source of energy and strength.

On stylistic grounds the sculpture may be assigned to a period ranging between 6th and 8th centuries A.D.

The *Varāha* images are represented in two forms—

1— The whole body is that of a *Varāha*.

2— *Nṛ-Varāha*—The whole body is like that of an man, only the head being that of a *Varāha*.

The specimens of the former type are generally found in northern and central India. The whole body of this type of *Varāha* images consists of numerous human figures with the earth in the form of a woman holding his tusk.[8] The specimens of the latter variety are found at Garhwa, Indian Museum, Udayagiri cave, in a cave at Badami, Mahabalipuram, Eraṇ and Deogarh. Among these *Nṛ-Varāha* images of Udayagiri cave[9], Deogarh[10] and Eran[11] are noteworthy.

their force.

8. See P. C. Mukherjee, *Report on the Antiquities in* the *District of Lalitpur, Varāha-Avatāra-Bania-Ka-Varāt*. Varanasi, 1972, pl. 41.

9. For the Udayagiri-Varāha, See Cunningham—*A.S.I.R.*, Vol. X, 1880, Calcutta pl. XVIII.

10. P. C. Mukherjee, *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, Varanasi* 1972, pl, 25.

11. J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1974, pl. 26.

All these *Nṛ-Varāha* images have minor variations with regards to the position of the earth, standing posture and distribution of figures near and under the feet of the god. The Bharadvāja Āśrama image described above too is not inferior to any one of those pointed above. The peculiarity of this image lies in its standing posture. It stands to right which is seldom found elsewhere.

PORTRAIT OF A CLEAN CITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

PROF. K. D. BAJPAI

Saugar

The author throws light on the scientific town-planning having the best possible water supply and sanitary arrangements, in north-western India during the period of Indus Valley Civilization between 2500–1800 B.C. The art of town planning–did not die out after the end of the Indus Valley culture but continued. The excavations at Eran, Ujjain and Kauśāmbī and the early and late Vedic literature prove that there existed many–towns in the Madhyadeśa region before c. 6th century B.C.

Literary and archaeological evidence tends to show that due attention was paid to town-planning in ancient India. There are numerous references in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other works to indicate that big towns and cities came to existence in various parts of the country. This happened from about C. 300 B.C. when the development of urbanisation assumed a definite form and the baked bricks began to be used in plenty.

There is evidence to show that a developed town-planning existed in north-western India during the period of Indus Valley civilization. Excavations have revealed that several big towns had grown up in the Indus Valley area during the period between 2500 and 1800 B.C. These towns were well planned on certain scientific lines. Proof is also available to show that town-building activities continued even after 1800

B.C. in some parts of the country. During the time of the Buddha, some of the capitals of the sixteen great kingdoms (*mahājanapadas*) were big flourishing towns.

In ancient Indian literature terms like *nagara, paṭṭana* and *pura* are often mentioned. They stand for various types of towns and cities. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya throws valuable light on planning of towns and forts.

Epigraphical evidence and the accounts of some foreign writers, referring to towns, are not of much avail for the study of their technique, nature and gradual development of township. Early inscriptions generally eulogise the capitals of kingdoms, speaking of their sky-touching palaces and temples. Some of the Greek, Roman and Chinese travellers, followed by the Arab writers, mention the chief towns including some of the ports and mart-towns visited by them. The accounts given by several of them, like Megasthenes, Pliny, Ptolemy, the writer of 'the Periplus', Hiuen-Tsang and Sulaiman are of importance for the knowledge of ancient Indian towns, the internal and external trade routes and commodities of export and import.

The archaeological source-material is helpful for the present study, although it may be stated that very few ancient towns have so far been horizontally excavated. The artefacts excavated from the early historical towns have not been adequately studied in a comparative way to determine the material and cultural development of our ancient towns.

The Indus Valley cities are the earliest Indian cities known to us. The excavations conducted at Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Chanhudaro and a few other sites have revealed the existence of a developed urban life in the Indus Valley.

After the fall of the Indus Valley culture, till the emergence of the early historical period in c. 6th century B.C. there is a long gap of about a millennium. It is supposed by some scholars that the town-building activity ended abruptly with the end of the Indus Valley culture and emerged, after the long gap, in the 6th cent. B.C. True it is that sufficient archaeological material has not come to our help to vouchsafe the continuation of townships after the end of the Harappan culture, but at the same time it is not possible to believe that the art of town-building abruptly died out for over one thousand years and emerged again, with full force, in c. 600 B.C. The excavations at sites like Eran, Ujjain and Kauśāmbī have brought to light at least some evidence to support our contention that town-building activities continued, in some form or the other, even after the fall of the Indus Valley culture. The early and late Vedic literature also supports the view that some towns did exist in the Madhyadeśa region before c. 6th cent. B.C.

Now the question arises : had the towns of the *Mahājanapada* period any impact of the Indus Valley cities on them or did they have an independent origin altogether? The answer to this question requires a thorough study of the Vedic literature as well as of the works like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the epics, the Buddhist and Jain literature. This question is allied to another one. It is whether the historical Indian cities had an indegenous growth or were they imitations of some foreign cities. The available material, at any rate, disproves the theory of any foreign influence on the ancient Indian towns.

We have some definite details regarding town-planning of the Indus-Valley cities; particularly of the two capitals, Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The old town of Harappa in

west Punjab was located on the confluence of two branches of the river Ravi, a tributary of the Indus. A mud-brick rampart wall was constructed to protect the town from the floods of the river. Mohenjodaro in Sind stood on an island, which formed a strip of land between the main Indus bed and the Nara loop. An embankment was prepared to protect the city from the river floods, which were more numerous here than at Harappa.

The excavations have clearly shown that there was a uniform lay-out of both the cities having a fortified citadel. A few unusual buildings were built there on a mud-brick platform about 30 feet high. These were probably meant for the controlling authority and other high ups.

The chief rampart of Harappa was made of mud bricks, battered internally and externally and faced with a revetment of burnt bricks on the outside. The entire structure was 40 feet vide at its base and was 35 feet high. The main buildings were constructed inside a planned parallelogram measuring 1200×600 feet. The defensive wall was reinforced by rectangular salients. It was built in more than one phase.

Like Harappa, at Mohenjodaro also the excavations have revealed the existence of an interesting complex of buildings. Here the central monument is the 'Great Bath'. This tank, meant for the citizens, measures 40 × 24 feet. Its depth is 8 feet. Very fine brickwork was utilized in its construction. The walling of the tank, having nice steps, is strengthened with bitumen in order to make it water-tight. Provision was made to drain out the water wherever required. Around the tank was a cloister and on three sides were provided a series of small rooms, which may have

served as closed places for changing clothes. Another remarkable building found at Mohenjodaro is a community hall measuring 230×78 feet having a cloistered court and a series of small rooms. A third public building is a square pillared hall, measuring about 80 feet each way. Its roof is supported on twenty rectangular pillars of brick-work.

These public structures indicate that the Indus Valley cities had a well planned administrative set up with a striking religious background. Both at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, below the citadel have been discovered well laid out streets, shops and dwelling houses of the main population. The main streets of Mohenjodaro are 30 feet wide. They run north-south and east-west, cutting each other on right angles. The dwelling area was a square city, about one mile each way. It was divided by the main streets into equal size rectangular blocks. Each block approximately measures 1,200×800 feet. The ancient city may have comprised twelve major blocks, in three rows of four each, extending east to west. Besides the main streets there were small roads and lanes. They were necessary in order to divide the blocks into individual houses.

A clearer nature of the houses has been found at Mohenjodaro than at Harappa. The houses at the former site have been grouped into two categories. Those meant for the rich class were made of well fired bricks, usually measuring 11×5.5×2.5 inches. The walls were made solid with mud-plaster and the method of laying was the well-known 'English bond'. The doorways of the houses had an average width of 3 feet 4 inches and mostly had flat timber lintels. The windows were usually small and were made at an abnormal height in the rooms. This was necessitated due to the local climatic conditions, particularly for protection from hot winds during the summer.

Each house had a courtyard, to which access was made through a door from the side lane. Round the courtyard or on its three or two sides were rooms of different sizes. There was one bathroom in each house with fine brick floors and elaborate drains, which ran out to the streets. The rubbish of houses was collected in brick-built rectangular bins which stood outside towards the main street. These bins may have been cleaned by the Municipal servants. The municipality may also have looked after the elaborate city drainage which may also have looked after the elaborate city drainage; which ran under the streets and to which were attached the individual house drains. The manhole covers were regularly cleaned. Arrangement of soak-pits also existed. According to Stuart Piggott, a well-known Indologist, "the whole conception (of the Indus Valley Cities) shows a remarkable concern for sanitation and health, without parallel in the orient in the pre-historic past or at the present day". Some of the houses of the first category were double storeyed.

The other category of houses was meant for the lower group or the workmen. Their area was at a little distance from the main habitation. The houses were small, each 20 by 12 feet internally and were divided into two rooms. The houses were arranged in two parallel rows, with a narrow lane on, one side and a street on the other. All the houses were of single storey. The houses at Harappa, belonging to the second category, were almost twice the size of those at Mohenjodaro.

Proper arrangement for big and small granaries also existed in these cities. The industrial area was separated from the main habitation.

The water-supply was also well-planned out. There was an adequate number of public wells with brick lining.

Some wells were owned by private people. The excavators of the two great cities have opined that necessary steps were taken to keep the cities neat and clean.

The cities of ancient India, with proper town-planning and having the maximum possible sanitary conditions, can serve as a model to the present day growing cities of the country.

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AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE RIVER HO-NAM-MO-CH'IANG

S. Nath

Allahabad

The author tries to identify the river Ho-Nam-Mo-Ch'iang with the present Āmī river of the Basti district of U.P. The river is very famous in the history of Buddhism because on its very bank the prince Siddhārtha took off his kingly signs and dressed himself as an ascetic.

The study of the ancient geography of India is an important aspect of history because it has influenced the course of ancient Indian history to a considerable extent. It is pity to note that here the study of Geopolitics has so far received but little attention. It is almost certain that Geography makes the permanent basis of every nation's history.[1] A nation can neglect geography only at its danger.

The role played by the rivers in shaping the history of one's nation is an established fact. It is no denying the fact that political, cultural, spiritual and material all aspects of one's country is but the outcome of its rivers. It is interesting to note that the civilizations developed in the river valleys represent an advanced stage in the history of human race. Among them mention may be made of Nile Valley civilization of Egypt, around the meditarranean in the Tigris val-

1. K. M. Panikkar, *Georgraphical Factors in Indian history*, Introduction, p. ix.

ley, in the Indo-Gangetic plain, in Yangtse and Ho Yangho areas and the river valleys of Western Europe.

A controversy has raged round the identification of the river Ho-nam-mo-ch'iang and the object of this paper is to discuss this problem. Carlleyle identifies this river with Kudawanadī in the Bastī district of U. P.[2] but that does not seem to conform to facts. Thomas is of the opinion that no river of the name existed at all[3]. The view expressed by Thomas is not supported by any evidence; therefore it is rejected. Elaborate mention of the river Ho-nam-mo-ch'iang in the Buddhist literature proves beyond the shadow of doubt that the river Ho-nam-mo-Ch'iang was famous in the history of Buddhism. This river should be conveniently identified with the present Āmī river of the Basti district of U. P.[4]

Aumi, Anomā, or Āmī is the tributory of ancient river Acirāvatī (Rāptī). The 'tributaries and affluent of the river Rāptī are very numerous. The chief of these is the Āmī, a stream which commences a short distance from the

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2. *A.S.R.*, XXII, 224.
3. *The Life of Buddha,* 61.
4. This district is one of the largest districts of U.P. It lies between the parallels of 26°25′ and 27°30′ north latitude and 82°13′ and 83°18′ east longitude. The vast tract of the district is of irregular shape. The district lies between the ancient Srāvastī (Gonda district of U.P.) on the west and Gorakhpur (U.P.) on the east. On the south, the Ghāgharā separates it from the capital of ancient Uttar Kośala (Faizabad), which on the north the boundary marches with Nepāl, running at a distance of some 20 or 30 miles from the outer range of the Himālayas.

   Basti Gazettier, vol. XXXII (1907). 1.

river Rāptī. At first it is very inconspicuous; but it gradually assumes a defined channel, flowing through tracts of stiffy clay and barren unproductive usar. From Bastī, it passes into Maghar West. Here it receives a small tributary on it's right bank near Banskhor, this is known as the Reruwa and rises in the depression to the Rudhauli. On the eastern borders of the pargana the Āmī is joined by the Barar, another old channel of the Rāptī, which flows from the direction of Bankaṭā and is reinforced by a similar stream named the Budha, which starts to the west of Bānsī. After joining the Barar, the bed of the Āmī deepens and becomes wider. At the point of exit it is joined on the south by the Khudwā Nālā which rises to the noth of Mirganj and the combined waters pass into the Gorakhpur district to join the ancient river Acirāvatī.[5] Āmī rises from the pargana Rasūlpur in Bastī (U.P.) and after a course of some forty four miles enters in the Gorakhpur district of U. P. near Rāmpur in pargana Maghar. From here it follows the usual south-easterly direction, falling into the ancient Acirāvatī (Rāptī) near Sohgaura in pargana Bhauapar.[6]

The Bastī district of U. P. has played a role of considerable significance in the history of Buddhism. The district forms part of the holy land of Buddhism and the site is situated near Kapilvastu, where Gautama was born. Several coins of the Kuṣāṇa, the Śuṅga and other dynasties of ancient India were found here. Ruins of ancient brick buildings are to be seen in many places in the district. Among them mention may be made of Bhuilā, Bahari,

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5. *Basti Gazettier*, 32, 13-14.
6. *Gorakhpur Gazettier*, vol. 31, 12.

Kathelā, Khirnīpur, Makhauṛā,[7] Nagar, Rāmpur, Warai. These and several others still await a careful exploration.

The river Āmī is famous in the history of Buddhism as the scene of Prince Siddhārtha's assumptions of the dress of an ascetic, where he cut off his hair and dismissed his attendant Channa and Kanthaka, his horse.[8] According to the Burmese[9] and Ceylonese[10] chronicles its—distance from Kapilvastu was thirty yojana or about two hundred and ten miles. In the Tibetan translation of the *Lalita Vistara* the distance is noted as six yojana or forty two miles.[11] This distance has been accepted by Cunningham also.[12] When prince Siddhārtha left Kapila to enter upon the life of a mendicant, he took the road by Vaiśālī to Rājagṛha. The general direction of his route was therefore nearly east-south-east part of Deokalī to the bank of the Āmī river below Sangrāmpur and above the point where it enters

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7. S. Nath, An Identification of Makhakṣetra of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XX, September, 1970 No. 1, pp. 33-35 ff. Here the author has identified Makhabhūmi mentioned by the Ādi Kavi Vālmīki with the present Makhauṛā of the Bastī district of U.P.
8. *Dhammapada* Commentary, I, 85.
9. Bigandet, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, p. 41.
10. Turnour, *J.A.S.B.*, VII. 809.
    Hardy in *Mannual of Buddhism* on page 160 says 480 miles, from which it is clear that he has adopted Turnour's erroneous valuation of the Yôjana at 16 miles.
11. Foucax, French Translation, 214.
12. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 358.

the Aumiyar lake[13]. The point of crossing must have been just above the head of the Aumiyar lake.

In the Sanskrit language Āmī will be Avamī which means 'inferior'. The name seems to be of descriptive type because the river is of small size as compared with the other rivers of eastern U. P. The total length of the river is—only forty five miles. The name is therefore a suitable appellation of the old channel to distinguish from the larger or main stream of the river Achirāvatī (Rāptī).

According to the *Lalita Vistara* the point where Buddha crossed the river was the town of Maneya in Anuvaineya[14]. Anuvaineya means the country along the Vaineya river or on the lower course of the Vaineya. It seems that the name is probably derived from Veṇu which means a 'bambu' and if so it would mean 'bambu river' and would thus be equivalent to Bānsī, which might be applied to it probably on account of bambus on its banks or its flow in the town of Bānsī.

There is astonishing unanimity among the Burmese and Singhalese legends that Prince Siddhārtha, on reaching the bank of this river enquired its name, and on being informed that it was called Āmī (Anoma) made a remark on the name of the river.[15] According to the Burmese legends the name of the river was Anaumā, on hearing which the prince remarked, "I will not show myself un-

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13. *Eastern India*, ii, 314. Buchanan calls it the Nawar lake, but in the Atlas of India and other Govt. Maps it is named the Amiyar Tāl and the river is called the Āmī Nadī.
14. Foucaux, translation from Tibetan, p. 214.
15. Bigandet, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, 41.

worthy of the high dignity I aspire to." Then "spurning his horse, the fierce animal leaped at once to the opposite bank". Hardy writes "On arriving at the river he enquired its name from the noble and when he was told that it was Anoma 'illustrious' or 'honourable', he received it as another omen in his favour". George Turnour gives the story at length from the Ceylonese Aṭṭhakathā of Buddhavānso.[16] The Aṭṭhakathā called the Maduratthavilāsini on the Buddhavānso, which is the fourteenth book in Khudakanikāyo of the *Suttapiṭaka*. The Buddhavānso preserves the history of the last twenty four Buddhas. It is believed that it was delivered by Sākya himself in the first year of his Buddhahood. Prince Siddhārtha enquired of Chhando, "What is the name of this river?" 'Lord ! its name is Anomā'. Replying 'nor will there be any Anomā (inferiority),[17] Siddhārtha pressed his heel to the horse, and gave him the signal to leap. The horse springing aloft, alighted on the opposite bank of a river. It has eight usabha in breadth'.

The identification of the Buddhist Anomā with the present Āmī river is still further confirmed. On reaching the opposite bank, the prince alighted from his horse and directed his attendant Chandaka to return to Kapila[18]. At this spot 'there stood a stūpa called Chandaka-nivarttana or "Chandaka's return", which in the spoken dialects would perhaps have been shortened to *Chanda barttana*. Cunningham has identified it with the village of Chandoli on

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16. George Turnour, *J.A.S.B.*, VII (1838), 808.
17. This remark involves a pun : however, is by no means a matter of livity in Buddhistical literature. *J.A.S.B.*, VII, 808, f.n.
18. Foucaux, *op. cit*, p. 214.

the eastern bank of the Āmī river near the head of the Aumiyar lake[19] and ten miles to the south of the Gorakhpur district of U. P. With his sword the prince cut off his long locks of hairs, *cūḍā*, which being thrown aloft were caught by the gods, who built a Stūpa on the spot called Cūḍā-patigraha, or "the receipt—of hair locks". In the spoken dialects this name would have been shortened to cūḍā-gaha, which may be identified with the village of cheneya three miles to the north of Chandoli. The prince next changed his royal garments for the plain dress of an ascetic. At the spot where this event took place, the people built a stūpa, named Kāsāya-grahana or assumption of ochre garments". This place has been identified with the village of Kaseyar, three and half miles to the south-out of Chandoli.

The extraordinary influence of rivers on Indian history has always been a paradox to historians with pragmatic bias. That such a little part of eastern U. P. could produce both Buddhism and Jainism and through them could exercise unparalleled effects on the course of man's activity during the last more than two thousand and five hundred years, is remarkable. The geography of this region should be extensively studied and an analysis of its salient features made so that we can have an idea of the special traits which changed the course of ancient Indian history.

19 Cunningham, *op. cit*, p. 361.

THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE YOGA SYSTEM

DR. T. S. RUKMINI

Delhi

From the very ancient times Yoga has been accepted as a method to steady the mind. The author examines the Yoga theory of Knowledge as given in the yogasūrtras and interpreted by Vyāsa, Bhoja, Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu in their commentaries, compares it with the theory of Sāṃkhya system and concludes that the Yoga theory of Knowledge has been borrowed from the Sāṃkhya theory of knowledge ; it has no independent theory of its own.

Right from the earliest philosophical literature dealing with the development of human thought in India, Yoga, as a method to steady the mind, has been accepted. The Upaniṣads abound in references to the practice of yoga for the purpose of the steadiness of the mind. The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* describes the process of samādhi by which a man can pass from the gross to the subtle and to the ultimate essence, the Puruṣa.[1] Though the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* refers to the guṇas and to the evolution of matter there is no indication to show that there is a specific reference to the philosophy of of Yoga. It could all be a reference to the sāṃkhya principles. But

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1. यच्छेद्वाङ्मनसी प्राज्ञस्तद्यच्छेज्ज्ञान आत्मनि ।
ज्ञानमात्मनि महति नियच्छेत्तद्यच्छेच्छान्त आत्मनि ।।
Kaṭha. I.3.13.

यदा पञ्चावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह ।
बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टति तामाहुः परमां गतिम् ।।
Kaṭha. II.3.10.

when we approach the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* we find a reference to Prakṛti and also to Īśvara who is eternally associated with it.[2] Probably, by this date, Yoga was developing a philosophy independent of its practical aspect, since the later Upaniṣadic and post-Upaniṣadic period in general was the period of the systems and Yoga also probably developed its own philosophical system. It is interesting to speculate at this point as to whether Yoga grew into a system independently or just borrowed its philosophical theories from the Sāṃkhya system which it closely resembles.

Just as Nyāya, as a method of reasoning, is a vital aspect of every system of philosophy and every branch of inquiry, and indeed was considered so till it also became a system of philosophy, itself closely attached to the Vaiśeṣika system, so also, Yoga, which, to begin with, was only a practical means for the control of the mind and the senses, later became a system itself, borrowing what suited it from the Sāṃkhya thought but uncompromising in its acceptance of Īśvara to which it stuck. Though scholars[3] have suggested that Yoga's theism is a later development which sprang up during the time of the epics and the Purāṇas there is very little evidence for this sweeping statement. Yoga as a practice very much depended on a support or ālambana and Īśvara was the best support (ālambana) for a spiritual aspirant. In fact, the loosely knit Yoga system only corroborates this view as, if Īśvara were a later addition, whoever introduced him, would have at least fitted Īśvara into the system as a whole, without

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2. मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं च महेश्वरम् ।
तस्यावयवभूतैस्तु व्याप्तं सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥

Śvet. up IV.10.

3. S. Radhakrishnan '*Indian Philosophy*' Vol. II. Second edition p. 371.

leaving so many ends untied.[4] One feels very strongly that one of the genuine Yoga doctrines is the doctrine of Īśvara whereas the rest of the theories could very well be borrowings from Saṃkhya, with some modifications.

As a system of philosophy Yoga finds mention in the *Arthaśāstra*,[5] and Buddhist sources[6] abound in Yogic methods which are similar to those described in Patañjali's *Yogasūtras*. Thus Yogic ideas and practices, while being prevalent even in pre-Buddhist and Buddhist times, the philosophy of Yoga as such, could very well belong to the later Upaniṣadic period.

The theory of knowledge as given in the *Yogasūtras* and developed by its main commentators Vyāsa, Bhoja, Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu, is being examined in this paper firstly as interpreted by them individually and secondly in comparison with the theory found in the Sāṃkhya system.

Thus in the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali there are many sūtras which deal with the problem of knowledge. But in this paper one sūtra each from the *Samādhipāda*,[7] *Sādhana-*

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4. ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा । *Pāt. Yogasūtras.* I.23.
तपः स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि क्रियायोगः ।
Pāt. Yogasūtras II.1.

5. साङ्ख्यं योगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षिकी ।
Quoted in S. N. Dasgupta '*Yoga Philosophy*'. p. 47, footnate 1 ; Delhi edition 1974.

6. Reference taken from S. N. Dasgupta '*Yoga Philosophy*' p. 47, footnote 2. Delhi 1974.

7. वत्तिसारूप्यमितरत्र । *Pāt. Yogasūtras* I.4.

pāda[8] and *Kaivalyapāda*[9] is being examined in order to present the Yoga view in full.

In the first sūtra under discussion the relevant portion in the Vyāsabhāṣya translated into English is 'the intellect, (or mind—the two words are interchanged in the *Yogasūtras*) similar to a magnet, by being useful to one near it, without doing any work, through the seen, is the possession of Puruṣa, the master.'[10]

As far as Vyāsa is concerned the mind acts like a magnet and its knowledge content becomes the knowledge of the Puruṣa.

In the second Sūtra under discussion[11] Vyāsa deals with the means of obtaining knowledge.[12] It can be translated as—'Puruṣa, the master, is joined with the seen like the intellect etc. which is its own possession, for the sake of knowledge (of the object). That acquisition of knowledge which is obtained through that contact is known as experience.' The significant word in this sūtra is the word 'saṃyoga' i.e. contact. Vyāsa leaves the word as it is without attempting to explain it. In fact it is this ambiguity which has led to different interpretations in later times. While in sūtra I. 4 sannidhāna has been used by Vyāsa here in II. 23, because the word saṃyoga is present in the sūtra itself, Vyāsa has to

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8. स्वस्वामिशक्त्योः स्वरूपोपलब्धिहेतुः संयोगः । II.23.

9. चितेरप्रतिसंक्रमायास्तदाकारापत्तौ स्वबुद्धिसंवेदनम् । IV.22.

10. चित्तमयस्कान्तमणिकल्पं संनिधिमात्रोपकारि दृश्यत्वेन स्वं भवति पुरुषस्य स्वामिनः ।

11. II. 23

12. पुरुषः स्वामी, दृश्येन स्वेन दर्शनार्थं संयुक्तः । तस्मात्संयोगाद्दृश्यस्योपलब्धिर्या स भोगः ।। etc.

use it in the bhāṣya as well. If Patañjali did mean only sannidhāna (sānnidhya) and no contact between 'sva' and 'svāmī', could he not have used the word sannidhāna instead of 'saṃyoga'? 'Saṃyoga' being an 'avyāpyavṛtti-dharma' the idea of actual contact arises in the mind which could have been avoided by the use of the word 'sannidhāna'.

In the third sūtra under discussion[13] Vyāsa explains how the idea of 'knowing' comes into being.[14] The idea, according to Vyāsa, is that when the non-changing, non-moving Puruṣa is reflected in the intellect, it appears as if moving in the object, in the form of the changing activity of the intellect. And the activity of knowledge is that same activity of the intellect since it is the same intellectual activity which has obtained the reflection of the Puruṣa. Thus, the various steps in the process of knowing are clearly described in the above three sūtras. The first sūtra describes the nature of knowledge in Puruṣa in states other than samādhi, i.e. when it is involved in the act of knowing. The second sūtra describes the means by which Puruṣa and Prakṛti experience their true essence by the same act of knowing and the third sūtra denies any change or movement which might be imagined in Puruṣa during the process of knowing.

Since Bhoja has commented on the *Yogasūtras* themselves it will be interesting to examine his view first before dealing with the interpretations of Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu.

Bhoja does not admit of any contact either in the form of an image or as an actual contact between Puruṣa and the

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13. IV. 22.
14. अपरिणामिनी हि भोक्तृशक्तिरप्रतिसंक्रमा च परिणामिन्यर्थे प्रतिसंक्रान्तेव तद्वृत्तिमनुपतति । तस्याश्च प्राप्तचैतन्योपग्रहस्वरूपाया बुद्धिवृत्तेरनुकारमात्रतया बुद्धिवृत्त्यविशिष्टा हि ज्ञानवृत्तिराख्यायते ।

intellect. Their relationship of knower and known is inherent in them and is beginningless. The word 'saṃyoga', according to Bhoja, is the ability of the enjoyed to be enjoyed and the ability of the enjoyer to enjoy which is established from beginningless time. This is all that 'saṃyoga' means and nothing else.[15] He also seems to suggest that in the presence of Puruṣa the intellect becomes intelligized; there is no reflection or contact but it looks as if the sattva element of intellect becomes intelligized in the presence of Puruṣa[16]. Once the intellect is intelligized by the presence of Puruṣa the activity (vṛtti) appears as the experience of Puruṣa.

The only difficulty in Bhoja's view is that the intellect is assumed, on the one hand to be purely inert and, at the same time, to be intelligized as well. And since the Puruṣa is always present, the intellect will also be always intelligized and its definition as inert will not stand to reason. Thus Bhoja's interpretation is very different from the traditional reflection theory and also seems to be philosophically incomplete.

The two well known commentators on Vyāsa's bhāṣya are Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu.

Vācaspati Miśra analyses the word 'vṛtti-sārūpyam' in the first sūtra,, explained as 'aviśiṣṭavṛtti' by Vyāsa, as 'saśabda ekaparyāyaḥ.'[17] He explains it as, 'because of nearness to each other difference between the intellect and the Puruṣa, like the difference between the colour of the China-rose and of the crystal, is not grasped, then the individual by wrongly

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15. यदेव भोग्यस्य भोग्यत्वं भोक्तुश्च भोक्तृत्वमनादिसिद्धं स एव संयोगः ।

16. अतस्तत्संनिधाने यदा बुद्धिस्तदाकारतामापद्यते चेतनेवोपजायते । etc.

17. सारूप्यमित्यत्र सशब्द एकपर्यायः ।

attributing the fluctuations of the intellect to the Puruṣa thinks that he is tranqil etc.[18] The simile of China-rose and the crystal makes the superimposition clear, for the intellect which is like a crystal reflects the Puruṣa which is near it. Vācaspati Miśra further says that the intellect is not connected to the Puruṣa but is near it. This nearness cannot be explained in terms of space or time, but its distinguishing characteristic is that of ability or harmony—in the Puruṣa.[19] Thus Miśra seems to suggest that there is an ability in Puruṣa which he called 'saṃyoga' and this ability causes its reflection in the intellect which is clear like a crystal: or Puruṣa is connected through this ability and not connected by itself.

Though the theory of Vācaspati Miśra removes the defect of making the intellect both intelligent and inert at the same time, still it cannot get rid of the ability to reflect which is present in Puruṣa always and which will be present even in liberation. This is the main objection to Vācaspati Miśra's theory set forth by Vijñānabhikṣu in his *Yogavārttika*.[20]

In order to get out of this difficulty Vijñānabhikṣu defines 'saṃyoga' as a 'saṃyogaviśeṣa' depending on the scrip-

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18. जपाकुसुमस्फटिकयोरिव बुद्धिपुरुषयोः संनिधानादभेदग्रहे बुद्धिवृत्तीः समारोप्य शान्तोऽस्मि···· etc.

19. न पुरुषसंयुक्तं चित्तं अपितु तत्संनिहितम् । संनिधिश्च पुरुषस्य न देशतः कालतो वा तदसंयोगात्; किन्तु योग्यतालक्षणः । पुरुषः स्वामीयोग्यतामात्रेण योग्यतयैव दर्शनार्थं संयुक्तः ।

20. एतेन भोक्तृभोग्ययोग्यतैव द्रष्टृदृश्ययोरनादिः संबन्धः, संयोगाङ्गीकारे पुरुषस्य परिणामित्वापत्तेरिति कस्यचित् प्रलापः सूत्रस्वरसाद्धेयः etc. चेतनत्वाचेतनत्वातिरिक्तस्य प्रतिनियतस्य योग्यत्वस्य ज्ञानावच्छेदकस्यानिरूपणाच्च, तयोश्च मोक्षकालसाधारण्येन द्वेयाहेतुत्वात् ।

tures to prove his point.[21] And this 'saṃyogaviśeṣa' is a reflection, since Bhikṣu uses both the words 'bimba' and 'pratibimba' while explaining it. It is not an 'Yogyatā' in Puruṣa to reflect but it is reflection itself. Not only is there reflection from the Puruṣa to the intellect but also from the intellect to the Puruṣa—i.e. there is a mutual reflection. According to Bhikṣu, if there is only reflection from the Puruṣa (cit) to the intellect then the notion of 'I' cannot be generated and there is only intellegizing of the vṛttis i.e. knowledge arises in the intellect. But the knowledge as the content of experience in Puruṣa can only come through another reverse experience of the intellect in the Puruṣa (cit).[22]

One fails to understand the above argument of Vijñānabhikṣu. The moment cit is reflected in the intellect, since the affliction called asmitā takes over, the cit gets the idea of being the experiencer without the need of a double reflection.[23] In fact Vyāsa makes the idea of 'asmitā' very clear, as the seeming identity of the two different principles, Puruṣa and intellect.[24] So, then, whatever result Bhikṣu desires to be achieved by the double reflection can very well be accomplished by the single reflection of the cit in the in-

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21. अतो दृश्यवत्या बुद्धया संयोग एवात्र संयोगविशेषः, आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः, इत्येवंविधश्रुत्यादिभ्यो लिङ्गदेहात्मसंयोगादेवात्मनो विषयदर्शनावगमादिति ।

22. बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बरूपयोर्बुद्धिपुरुषवृत्त्योः सारूप्यम् । यदा च चितिबुद्धेः प्रतिबिम्बमेवं बुद्धावपि चित्प्रतिबिम्बं स्वीकार्यमन्यथा चैतन्यस्य भानानुपपत्तेः । स्वयं साक्षात्स्वदर्शने कर्मकर्तृविरोधेन बुद्धयारूढतयैवात्मनो घटादिवज्ज्ञेयत्वाभ्युपगमात् ॥

23. दृग्दर्शनशक्त्योरेकात्मतेवास्मिता ॥ Yogasūtras II.6.

24. पुरुषो दृक्शक्तिर्बुद्धिर्दर्शनशक्तिरित्येतयोरेकस्वरूपापत्तिरिवास्मिता क्लेश उच्यते ॥

tellect, Bhikṣu seems to be observed by the idea of the contradiction between 'karma' and 'kartā' i.e. when only one reflection is assumed how can the intellect be both the content of knowledge and the knower. But this is only a seeming contradiction. For the first reflection is due to 'avidyā' or aviveka and once that is there asmitā can very well explain the notion of 'I' in the experience. So, it seems that Bhikṣu has not really achieved anything by the double reflection theory.

It only remains to add that this theory of knowledge of the Yoga system has been borrowed from the Sāṃkhya theory of knowledge. The difference in interpretation of Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu is evident in the Sāṃkhyan texts themselves. Thus while discussing kārikā 5, of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* Miśra says that the Puruṣa, in spite of being untouched by happiness etc., becomes as if having the knowledge of happiness etc. due to an identification with the intellect, because of its reflection in the intellect.[25]

The significant words of Miśra here are *tatpratibimbitastacchāyāpattyā,* which Miśra repeats while explaining *Yogasūtra* II.23.[26] Bhikṣu also uses the same metaphor in the *Yogavārttika* while explaining *Yogasūtra* IV 22.[27] More-

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25. पुरुषस्तु सुखाद्यननुषङ्गी चेतनः । सोऽयं बुद्धितत्त्ववर्तिना ज्ञानसुखादिना तत्प्रतिबिम्बितस्तच्छायापत्त्या ज्ञानसुखादिमानिव भवतीति चेतनोऽनुगृह्यते । चितिच्छायापत्त्याऽचेतनाऽपि बुद्धिस्तदध्यवसायोऽप्यचेतनश्चेतनवद्भवति ।

26. अतो दृशेरात्मनः प्रत्ययं चैतन्यच्छायापत्तिमपेक्ष्य दर्शनं तद्धर्मत्वेन भवति विज्ञायते विषयेण विषयिणः उपलक्षणात् । एतदुक्तं भवति, चैतन्य-विम्बोद्ग्राहितया बुद्धिचैतन्ययोरभेदाद् बुद्धिधर्मश्चैतन्यधर्मा इव चकासतीति ॥

27. इदमेव प्रतिबिम्बं बुद्धेश्चिच्छायाऽपत्तिरित्युच्यते

over Bhikṣu leaves no doubt as to the source of his interpretation when he emphatically asserts that his theory is what is referred to in the *Sāṃkhyakārikā,* 20.[28]

Thus in conclusion it can be said that though Bhoja, Miśra and Bhikṣu interpret saṃyoga, which is the keyword in the theory of knowledge differently, there is no independent yoga theory of knowledge.

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28. तदेतत्परस्परं प्रतिबिम्बं साङ्ख्यकारिकायामिव शब्दाभ्यामुक्तम्—तस्मात्तत्संयोगादचेतनं चेतनावदिव लिङ्गम् । गुणकर्तृत्वे च तथा कर्तेव भवत्युदासीनः ॥

CAUSATION AS A RELATION

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The author discusses different theories regarding the relation between a cause and its effect both in Indian and western philosophy

The purpose of the present discussion is to examine the relation between a cause and its effect, in the process of causation. Let us for that purpose, first of all see what the meaning of causation is. To take the dictionary meaning, it means causing or producing an effect, or the relation of cause and effect. There are two terms—cause and effect—here, which require explanation, without which the concept of causation cannot be properly grasped.

We see constant change in the world. Some of this change is seemingly automatic, but some clearly seems to be through some agency. The sun shines or the water of the river flows towards the sea. This is apparently automatic. I throw a ball upward and it goes upward. This is through me, an agency. Even here the ball goes upto a limit and then falls down. This seems to be automatic. When a man wants to effect a change, he exerts himself. By doing so he finds that he is able to effect the change. If he wants to throw the ball, he has to handle it and put an upward force in the form of 'throwing'. If he does not do so, the ball is there unmoved. A common man thus thinks that a change is effected through some effort or force and even where he does not see a clearly visible effort or force, he infers from

the visible cases that there is one, though unvisible. When the ball goes upwards, it is through my effort that it does so. But while going when it shows its motion, stops and then falls down, this too is due to the force exerted by the earth called gravity. Thus, analysis has shown that wherever there is a change, there is an agency, conscious or unconscious, effecting the change. This agency, according to the common sense notion is a cause and the change an effect. But the notion of cause is not limited to this agency alone. According to the common sense notion, the active agency exerts its force on an inactive substance and changes its condition. A potter, for example, exerts his force on the mud and changes it into a pot. While doing so, he takes the help of some instruments also, such as the wheel, the rod etc. The pot here is termed as 'effect' and all the things preceding it, the potter, the instruments and the mud itself, are termed as a 'cause.' In ordinary language, the thing produced is called the effect and the things producing or helping in producing the effect are called cause. The cause-effect relation, according to the common sense, is the producer-produced relation.

But in defining the cause-effect relation as producer produced relation, we have not advanced much, because we have only referred the term by synonymous words. In our analysis we are again faced by the difficulty what this production means, and this purpose is our real difficulty. Does this production mean some sort of activity on the part of the cause, or first precedence of the cause to the effect ? In the common sense notion, we have seen that there are three types of causes : The conscious agent exerting the force, the instruments or means through which the force is exerted. But when we analyse it, we find that this notion is true to the cases where some sort of conscious agent is present. In most of the changes of the world, we find no conscious agent pre-

sent, unless of course, we imagine God to be a conscious agent behind all changes. But if we wish to derive our conclusion on the basis of only what we observe, we shall have to analyse the relation without God. In many of the changes of the world, thus, there are two types of causes : those which exert force and those on which the force is exerted. But how do we know that the things exerting force actually exert force on the thing to be converted into effect. We never see them exerting force, what we actually see is that these are conjoined to the thing to be converted into effect. The notion of exerting force, in fact, is nothing but transferring one's own experience of nervous exertion in making some effort, to the cases where there is no such nervous exertion and as we can easily see, this transference has no logical basis. If we can give up our notion based on this transference, what remains are the two successive events, one which is preceding and the other succeeding. The preceding one is called cause and the succeeding one the effect. The cause-effect relation is here nothing but that of succession—the cause preceding the effect.

But here too, we are faced with difficulties. If we take a particular event as effect, we find not one, but so many things preceding it, rather a state of the whole universe preceding it. How, then, to judge, what factors of this preceding state of the universe constitute the cause. If we take the preceding state of the whole universe to be the cause of every event, then, however philosophically sound it may be, it will be far removed from the meaning of the term 'cause' in general usage. The term 'cause' requires specifications of some factors from the preceding event, as related to the particular effect. If we take the state of the whole universe at a particular moment as cause, it can be a cause to the successive state of the universe only. Of course, particular

events are also included in the state of the universe. But to establish relations between particular events of the successive events of the universe to the particular events of the preceding state is another thing and this is actually the meaning of causation in general usage. Is it possible to particularise these relations ?

In general practice we do particularise, i.e., we find a particular cause, or a set of some particular causes related to a particular effect. But what does the term relation mean here ? By a similar analysis, as done above, we can see that it can mean only succession. We regularly find two particular events conjoined together by succession, and we conclude that one is the cause and the other effect. But here, when we say regularly, we only mean in all cases observed by us. This leaves scope for the cases not observed by us. As we can easily see, we again land here in difficulties. We have only generalized what we have seen. But this is unwarranted. We have only a few cases of the past and present, not to talk of the future, and we cannot guarantee as to what has happened in our observed cases and what has happened in other unobserved cases, and will happen in future also. Past is no guarantee for the future. Causation thus remains a loose bond. This is the state of this relation as shown by Cārvākas in the East and by David Hume in the West. According to Cārvākas, the relation is based on invariable concomitance (*Vyāpti*) but this concomitance is not established by our regular observation because, even if we see it in a thousand cases, it can fail in other cases.[1] David Hume

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1. भूयो दर्शनगम्याऽपि न व्याप्तिरवकल्पते ।
सहस्रशोऽपि तद्दृष्टे व्यभिचारावधारणात् ॥
Nyāya-Mañjarī (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras) 1936, p. 109.

has attributed the notion of invariability in causation to the habit of mind. We see two events regularly occurring together and we conclude that one is the cause of the other. Cārvākas also say that perception of two events occurring together again and again produces an 'idea of invariability.'[2]

Even if we take for granted that the two events occurring together in observable cases will occur so in all other cases also, our difficulty is not solved. Sometimes we find that an event is regularly preceded by another event, and even then the preceding event is not regarded as cause. Its example commonly cited in West is night regularly preceding day, and in India, the example cited is the colour of threads regularly preceding the cloth as substance. Such cases posed great problem to the empiricist both in West and in India. In West, philosophers (e.g., J. S. Mill) tried to get rid of such cases by defining cause not only as invariably conjoined to effect but also unconditionally conjoined. Unconditionality is explained in all imaginable as well as in actual circumstances. Indian empiricists (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas) did it by defining a cause as *ananyathāsiddha* besides being invariable antecedent. *Ananyathāsiddha* is that which is no *anyathāsiddha* and *anyathāsiddha* is that whose existence prior to effect can be otherwise explained as not for the effect in question but for some other effect. The regular existence of colour of threads, as anticedent to cloth for example, can be explained in another way; we know that it is a cause of the colour of the cloth, and hence, it cannot be a cause for the cloth. These explanations, however, are unable to solve the

2. भूयो दर्शनतस्तावदुदेति मतिरीदृशी ।
नियतोऽयम् अनेनेति सकलप्राणिसाक्षिका ।।

Ibid. p. 111.

difficulty of empiricism. The conditionality in Western definition includes also those circumstances which we can imagine. For example, we can imagine a circumstance in which night does not precede day, and hence night cannot be regarded as a cause of day. But if we can imagine a circumstance in which the day might occur without the precedence of night, it will only be on considerations which are beyond empiricism. We shall here to take some extra factor connecting the cause with the effect, besides simple succession. Indian *ananyathāsiddha* too does not solve the difficulty, because it has only shown the non-causal factors with respect to the effect in question as cause to some other effect. But how are we to determine after all, which condition is the cause and which not? How are we to determine, e.g., whether the colour of the threads is the cause of the colour of the cloth, and not of the cloth as substance? Regular sequence is certainly not the answer here and we are driven to some consideration beyond empiricism, to some extra factor, which is not observable but which connects cause and effect. Can we determine this extra factor?

While analysing the common sense notion of cause, we have seen that there are three types of causes : The conscious agent exerting force, the instrument through which the force is exerted and the thing on which the force is exerted. In the common sense notion, thus, there is an extra factor, force or power, in a cause which is absent in a non-cause. A cause thus should not only precede its effect, it should also possess this power to produce the effect. But the term power is also ambiguous. In the case of a conscious agent, at the first stage, it will mean only willing. As only a conscious agent can will, this power can be possessed only by a conscious agent. The conscious agent then executes his will through his organs and through other instruments. The

organs exert the force and instruments carry it to the substance to be affected. The substance to be affected absorbs the force and by doing so it changes its shape giving rise to effect. The agent, organs and instruments are generally termed as instrumental or efficient cause, while the substance to be affected is generally known as material cause. In the case of material cause, the power can mean either the force imparted to it by the conscious agent or it can mean its own capacity to impart material to the effect. We know that every material body cannot be turned into every effect. The threads, for example, cannot be turned into a jar, or the mud cannot be turned into cloth. It is only mud which can impart material to a jar and it is only threads which can impart material to a cloth. This capacity of imparting material to effect can also be termed as 'Power'. We can say that only a specific material cause has the power to produce an effect and production here means only imparting material to the effect. Thus if we can assign different meanings to 'power' in different cases, we can say that the cause is that which has the 'power' to produce the effect. This view also synthesizes in itself the two theories about causation—the Activity Theory and the Entailment Theory. The activity view is represented by the definition of cause given by Locke. "A Cause", says Locke, "is that which makes any other thing begin to be".[3] Cause, according to this view, is an active agent which makes an effect, i.e., the cause has some power which compels the effect to be. Advocates of this theory think that the key to this sort of conception is in will. Only being possessing will can induce original motion. Berkeley on this ground proved the existence of God, whom he made the direct cause of everything which could not be attributed to the human will. Entailment, on the other hand, is a

3. *Essays on Human Understanding*, Book II. Ch. XXVI, F. 13

term of logic and stands for the relation between the premises and the conclusion is an argument, so that given the premises, the conclusion must follow. It is also applied to causation if logical necessity is implied, given the causes, the effect must follow. The common sense view includes both these theories because cause, according to it, is active and when it is there in its full aspect, i.e. when the full set of causes and conditions are there, the effect does necessarily follow. But the real difficulty here again is of finding out this full set of causes. In ordinary usage, we call even a single entity of the full set as cause. For example, we know that for sprout as effect, not only seed, but earth, water, heat etc. are necessary and therefore when all of them are together, they should be termed as cause. But in general usage, we call even that seed, which is not sprouting as cause of sprout. It is because it has the capability of sprouting if other conditions are available. The general practice thus is to call that particular thing of the full set as cause which due to some consideration is the most important. The consideration might be that of putting in effort to secure it. A farmer, for example, has to put in more effort in securing seed than in other things, which are easily available. The tendency of calling a single entity out of the full set as cause has lead Mīmāṃsā to classify causes into two types : (i) *Svarūpa-Yogya*—that which has the capacity to produce an effect but which has not done so. For example, a stick in forest has the capacity to produce a jar, but it has not done so (ii) *Phalopahita*—that which has actually produced or is producing the effect. The first is defined as that which does not produce its effect owing to the absence of other auxiliaries. The second is that which is added by auxiliaries.

Philosophically speaking, we can take only the second one viz., the *phalopahita* cause as cause, because if we start taking indirect causes into our consideration there is no limit

to it and perhaps we shall have to take the full universe as a cause. Even in the case of *phalopahita* cause, it is difficult to find out all its auxiliary conditions. Even here, philosophically speaking, no less than the state of the whole universe is a cause. But for practical purposes we can take some more important entities as cause which are directly involved in the process and which due to some reason or other catch the attention of the observer.

It will be worthwhile here to discuss one more problem related to cause. When we talk of a cause, we always do so in its general or generic aspect. For example, when we say a seed is the cause of a sprout, it might be the seed of mango, apple or any other fruit or vegetable etc. In practice the seed is always particular and likewise the sprout. The seed is not only of a particular kind, e.g., that of mango, etc. it is still mere a particular, a particular different from all other seeds, even the seeds of its own kind, but it is not exactly alike, it has its own individuality. Similarly the plant produced out of it is also a particular plant, different from all other plants. Thus, cause and also effects, in practice are particulars, different from all other cause and effects of their kinds. The actual process of causation is therefore, from particular to particular and its generalization is just a mental construction. Besides, if we look at the actual process of causation, it is not just cause immediately turning into effect, it is a process in which there are many intermediatory states. When mud, for example, is turned into a jar, it is not that it is immediately turned into a jar. It is first turned into a lump, then put on the wheel, and then by and by given a shape of jar. There are many states in between the ordinary mud and the fully made jar. All these states can be called effects and the states just a moment before each can be called its

cause. This leads us to the conclusion that every reality is a particular one and its every state is a cause to its next state coming after a moment. This is what the Buddhist say. Like Buddhists we can also say that when the effect state is there, the cause state dies out i.e. the reality is momentary, giving rise to new reality in its place every moment.

But this theory is possible only when we take the change to be real. We can also adopt a reverse view and say that all change is unreal, only appearance. This is the Advaita Vedānta view. According to it the reality or the cause remains as it is, but appears in different shapes due to ignorance, just as a rope appears as a snake under illusion.

Let us now review the situation and see what the relation between a cause and its effect is ?

The first theory regarding it, as we have seen, is the Regularity Theory, according to which the relation is that of mere succession without any bond between them to connect. Many of the Western Philosophers, like Bertrand Russell etc. are advocates of this theory. In India, Cārvākas can be regarded the main adherent of this theory. Cārvākas even go to deny causation as a universal law on this basis because the law is made on observation of regular concomitance and it is impossible to see all the cases. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas and Buddhists also, to some extent can be included in this type. But Nyaya-Vaiśeṣikas seem to depart by putting the epithet *ananyathāsiddha* in the definition of cause. According to Buddhists, the Universal law of causation is not based on mere observation, we have an internal necessity, a cause being there, the effect cannot fail to occur. The name of the Buddhist Theory–*Pratītya samutpāda*–origination after getting the causes–signifies their very fact. Even the reality according to definition here is

that which produces effect. The cause is active here, but activity does not mean exerting force on another reality. It simply means giving rise to effect in its place and dying out. The effect is connected to the cause by nothing except this internal necessity. The Buddhist Theory can also be included in the Entailment Theory, because the requirements of the Entailment Theory, the cause being there, the effect must occur, can be easily seen in Buddhist Theory.

Pure Regularity Theory, as we have seen, fails because on its basis, we cannot distinguish a cause from a non-cause.

The second theory is the Activity Theory according to which the relation of cause and effect is not merely that of succession it is rather a producer-produced relation, where the cause has a power which the effect does not posses. This is also the common sense view. In West, Locke, Berkeley, etc. are advocates of this theroy. In India, it is acceptable to practically all the systems, but in different shades. According to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, this power is there in the Instrumental cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) which is active, while the Inherent cause (*samavāyi-kāraṇa*) is inactive. According to Sāṃkhya, both Instrumental and Material cause are active, because the basic reality—*Prakṛti*—is here active. In Buddhism as has been seen, the cause is active in a special sense of giving rise to effect, but not of exerting force. In Advaita Vedānta, this actually can be ascribed only to Māyā, which, taken in the Absolute sense, is unreal.

Entailment Theory, according to which the cause entails its effect in the sense that cause being there, the effect cannot fail to occur, is also akin to common sense. It was

the general view in the West. In India, it is accepted by all the systems except Cārvākas.

The relation of cause and effect can be viewed from a different angle also, as generally done in India, by considering whether the effect is existent in cause or not. The relation of only material cause to the effect is considered here. Sāṃkhya and Vedānta are *Satkāryavādins* i.e. the effect according to them is already existent in the cause, before its production. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Buddhists are *Asatkārya-vādins* or ārambhavādins i.e., the effect is non-existent in its cause before production, it is purely a new emergent reality. The cause-effect relation accoding to *Satkāryavādins* will be that of inclusion, the cause including the effect. The Advaita Vedānta here lays stress on the complete identity of cause and effect, the change being illusive. Sāṃkhya stresses only the essential identity, the essense of cause and effect being the same, the form is different. The relations, according to *Asatkāryavādins* will be that of non-inclusion, both cause and effect being completely different entities.

THE INFLUENCE OF KĀLIDĀSA ON RAVIṢEṆA

RAMA KANT SHUKLA

New Delhi

Examining the charge of plagiarism on Raviṣeṇa the author surveys the common portions of Kālidāsa and Raviṣeṇa and concludes that similarity of expression is not a crime but a natural outcome of *śāstrakāvyādyavekṣaṇa,* stated to be one of the factor (हेतु) in "kāvya-racanā" by Mammaṭa. The author makes it clear that wherever Raviṣeṇa borrows the ideas of Kālidāsa he presents them with novelty, in a modified and beautiful way so as to reflect some resemblance (chāyā) only. There are instances where the inspiration and not the motive of imitation is predominant.

Born in the 7th century A.D., contemporary of Bāṇa—the famous Sanskrit prose writer, composer of '*Padmapurāṇa*' or '*Padmacarita*', well-versed in all the fine arts, staunch advocate of Jainism, sworn enemy of Brahmanism and Vedic religion, the first Sanskrit Jain--Rāma--Kathā--epic writer Ācārya Raviṣeṇa was a versatile genius and a verily gifted writer. The *Padmapurāṇa* is as much a work of religious as of literary merit and while depicting the story of Rāma from his own scholastic angle of vision, the poet on the one hand, has infused the element of Jain philosophy into it and on the other, has ornamented it through figures of speech, creation of Rasa, use of various metres, vivid descriptions and epigrams. Besides, he has imbibed the influence of masterpieces of great writers and poets like Bāṇa and Kālidāsa.[1]

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1. For the influence of Bāṇa on Raviṣeṇa, see the paper '*The Influence of Baṇa's Harṣacarita on Raviṣeṇa's Padmapurāṇa,*' by the

According to some critics, the dramatist Kālidāsa and the epic-poet Kālidāsa were two different persons.[2] The idea may be correct or erroneous but there is no gainsaying the fact that the works of Kālidāsa were in existence and earned good name and fame in the literary world before the advent of Raviṣeṇa. The exact date of Kālidāsa still being in oblivion, the latest period recognised for Kālidāsa is the Gupta period while Raviṣeṇa completed his work in 677-678 A.D. as is proved by the *praśasti* of *Padmapurāṇa*.[3]

It has been pointed elsewhere[4] that Raviṣeṇa wanted to present a unique work equally possessed of literary and religious importance. Accordingly, he picked every marvellous thing from great poets' works and used it in the *Padmapurāṇa* without caring for the charge of plagiarism on him by the posterity. The furious plagiarism, in other words, the literary dacoity of Raviṣeṇa from Bāṇa is illustrated there. In the present article the author aims at assessing the influence of Kālidāsa on Raviṣeṇa. While influenced by Bāṇa and gobbling his phraseology verbatim, Raviṣeṇa takes the form of '*Sakalaprabandhahartā Sāhasakartā*'. But he seems to be a genuine *Kavi* as long as he borrows his ideas from Kālidāsa, modifies them, changes the phraseology and thus only reflects some resemblance (छाया) to him.[5]

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present author published in the *Journal of G.N.J.R.I.*, Allahabad, XXIII (1-4), 1967, 91-105.

2. See Dr. Sudhir Kumar Gupta's *Sanskṛta Sāhitya kā Subodha Itihāsa,* Khurja 1956, 23A to 28A.

3. द्विशताभ्यधिके समासहस्रे · समतीतेऽर्धचतुर्थवर्षयुक्ते ।
जिनभास्करवर्धमानसिद्धे चरितं पद्ममुनेरिदं निबद्धम् ॥

Padmapurāṇa, 123/182.

4. Author, *ibid.* p. 105.

5. कविरनुहरतिच्छायां पदमेकं पादमेकमर्धं वा
सकलप्रबन्धहर्त्रे साहसकर्त्रे नमस्तस्मै ॥

(collected in *Subhāṣita Ratna Bhāṇḍāgāra*, 39.12, ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1929).

It is natural even for great poets to imbibe influence of previous important works. Neither the influence of predecessor poets nor similarity of expression is a crime but is the symbol of genius (*Medhā*) and the result of '*Śāstrakāvyādyavekṣaṇa*'.[6] If an idea is developed in a different language, it is hardly a discredit to a poet. There is no harm if the वाक्यार्थ and पदार्थ of two poets resemble :

अक्षरादिरचनेव योज्यते यत्र वस्तु रचना पुरातनी ।
नूतने स्फुरति काव्यवस्तुनि व्यक्तमेव खलु सा न दुष्यति ।।[7]

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6. In connection with the similar expression and the influence of predecessor poets we have to quote '*Ānandavardhana*'. According to him there are three types of similar expressions (संवाद). 1. *Pratibimbakalpa Saṃvāda,* 2. *Ālekhyākāra Saṃvāda* and 3. *Tulyadehivat Saṃvāda.* The first is not praiseworthy, the second is better than the first and the third is the best :

संवादास्तु भवन्त्येव बाहुल्येन सुमेधसाम् ।
संवादो ह्यन्यसादृश्यं तत्पुनः प्रतिबिम्बवत् ।।
आलेख्याकारवत्तुल्यदेहिवच्च शरीरिणाम् ।।

संवादो हि काव्यार्थस्योच्यते यदन्येन काव्यवस्तुना सादृश्यम् । तत्पुनः शरीरिणां प्रतिबिम्बवदालेख्याकारवत्तुल्यदेहिवच्च त्रिधा व्यवस्थितम् । किञ्चिद्धि काव्यवस्तु वस्त्वन्तरस्य शरीरिणः प्रतिबिम्बकल्पम्, अन्यदालेख्यप्रख्यम्, अन्यत्तुल्येन शरीरिणा सदृशम् ।

तत्र पूर्वमनन्यात्म तुच्छात्म तदनन्तरम् ।
तृतीयं तु प्रसिद्धात्म नान्यत्साम्यं त्यजेत्कविः ।।

तत्र पूर्वं प्रतिबिम्बकल्पं काव्यवस्तु परिहर्त्तव्यं सुमतिना । यतस्तदनन्यात्म, तात्त्विकशरीरशून्यम् । तदनन्तरमालेख्यप्रख्यमन्यत्साम्यं शरीरान्तरयुक्तमपि तुच्छात्मत्वेन व्यक्तव्यम् । तृतीयन्तु विभिन्नकमनीयशरीरसद्भावे सति ससंवादमपि काव्यवस्तु न त्यक्तव्यं कविना । नहि शरीरी शरीरिणान्येन सदृशोऽप्येक एवेति शक्यते वक्तुम् ।

Dhvanyāloka, IV Udyota, Kārikās 11—13 (Cf. the edition of Acharya Vishveshvar, Published from Jñānamaṇḍala, Varanasi 1962 359-360).

7. *Dhvanyāloka,* pp. 361.

If the poet has his own talent, he will add some originality and beauty to his composition while following some other poets' composition. The same matter fitted in a new structure has its own novelty and values.[8]

This is why, when we make a survey of similar expressions of Kālidāsa and Raviṣeṇa, we find some novelty in the latter Raviṣeṇa's poetry influenced by that of Kālidāsa, generally, takes the form of *'Tulyadehivat Saṃvāda'* and somewhere it takes the form of *'Ālekhyākāra Saṃvāda'* which in no way is contrary to the established principles.

Now let us have a glimpse at Raviṣeṇa's verses influenced by Kālidāsa. With unswerving avidity Raviṣeṇa betrays a marked predilection for the superb profundity of glowing similes and delicate poetic fancies in Kālidāsa, and models his delineation of masculine grandiosity and feminine charm after his enviable predecessor. His description of *Svayaṃvara* and portrait of the female anchorite strikes a close resemblence to that of Kālidāsa whose effect is more conspicuously apparent in his configuration of mometic situations consequent on the rise of an emotion (अनुभावयोजना). Raviṣeṇa's exploratory trip to the inexhaustible repository of Kālidāsa may best be discerned in the tremendous mass of the epigrammatic sayings that the former has culled covetously to add to the lustre of his imagery. His speeches of Kings, Chamberlains and the lovers pining in separation have also been fashioned after Kālidāsa with a resigned acceptance, sometimes eloborating the very idea investing it with a new

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8. यदपि यदपि रम्यं यत्र लोकस्य किञ्चित्
स्फुरितमिदमितीयं, बुद्धिरभ्युज्जिहीते ।
अनुगतमपि पूर्वच्छायया वस्तु तादृक्
सुकविरुपनिबध्नन्निन्द्यतां नोपयाति ॥

Dhvanyāloka, 4/16 pp. 312.

vista and most often imitating merely the exterior semblence of the style in a stereotyped fashion. A few illustrations will yield to the view.

To Kālidāsa, *Himālaya* conveys the imagery of a measuring rod of the earth traversing the eastern and the western oceans :

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा
हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः ।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य
स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥[9]

The close affinity with this poetic fancy in Raviṣeṇa's description of *Sumeru* bespeaks the infallible impact of Kālidāsa on him as he fancies *Sumeru* spanning the sky like a measuring scale :

विपुलं शिखरे चैकं धरण्यां दशसंगुणम् ।
राजते तिर्यगाकाशं मातुं दण्ड इवोच्छ्रितः ॥[10]

Stepping into the footsteps of Kālidāsa Raviṣeṇa meditates upon the charm of *Mandodarī* as the unique creation of creater (अपूर्वा सृष्टि) as the former fancies *Śakuntalā* a trans cendental creation of the gem of feminine charm :

चित्रे निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्वयोगा
रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु ।
स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे
धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य वपुश्च तस्याः ॥[11]

(Kālidāsa)

अनङ्गविषयां सृष्टिमपूर्वामिव कर्मणा ।
आहृत्य जगतोऽशेषं लावण्यमिव निर्मिताम् ॥[12]

(Raviṣeṇa)

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9. *Kumārasaṃbhavam*, 1/1.
10. *Padmapurāṇa*, 3/36.
11. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, 2/9.
12. *Padmapurāṇa*, 8/68.

Kālidāsa towers conspicuously for his copious flow of unique similes, often tempting Raviṣeṇa to imitate them and invest them with an imagery parrallel to the original one. Kālidāsa's simile of *Maṇisūtra* evokes the same image in Raviṣeṇa where he alters it by *Dṛṣṭānta* figure :

अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ।।१३

(Kālidāsa)

भास्वता भासितानर्थान् सुखेनालोकते जनः
सूचीमुखविनिर्भिन्नं मणिं विशति सूत्रकम् ।।१४

(Raviṣeṇa)

Sometimes Raviṣeṇa adds a new image to the source simile altering the exterior effect but retaining the inspiration intact. Kālidāsa's simile of *Dīpaśikhā* is responsible for the emergence of *Candralekhā* in Raviṣeṇa's fancy :

सञ्चारिणी दीपशिखेव रात्रौ
यं यं व्यतीयाय पतिंवरा सा
नरेन्द्रमार्गाट्ट इव प्रपेदे
विवर्णभावं स स भूमिपालः ।।१५

(Kālidāsa)

ततोऽसौ चन्द्रलेखेव व्यतीता यान्नभश्चरान् ।
पर्वता इव ते प्राप्ताः श्यामतां लोकवाहिनः ।।१६

(Raviṣeṇa)

For the shadow image of *Kekasī* following her husband, Raviṣeṇa is indebted to Kālidāsa's Dilīpa following the Nandinī cow in the same manner :

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13. *Raghuvaṃśa*, 1/4.
14. *Padmapurāṇa*, 1/20.
15. *Raghuvaṃśa*, 6/67.
16. *Padmapurāṇa*, 6/423.

स्थितः स्थितामुच्चलितः प्रयातां
निषेदुषीमासनबन्धधीरः ।
जलाभिलाषी जलमाददानां
छायेव तां भूपतिरन्वगच्छत् ॥[१७]

(Kālidāsa)

व्रजन्ती व्रज्यया युक्ते तिष्ठन्ती स्थितिमागते ।
छायेव साऽभवत् पत्यावनुवर्तनकारिणी ॥[१८]

(Raviṣeṇa)

If Kālidāsa gives us the simile of *Ghaṭastana*, Raviṣeṇa also gives us the same :

(i) यो हेमकुम्भस्तननिःसृतानां स्कन्दस्य मातुः पयसां रसज्ञः ।[१९]

(ii) अतन्द्रिता सा स्वयमेव वृक्षकान्
घटस्तनप्रस्रवणैर्व्यवर्धयत् ।
गुहोऽपि येषां प्रथमाप्तजन्मनां
न पुत्रवात्सल्यमपाकरिष्यति ॥[२०]

(Kālidāsa)

घटस्तनविमुक्तेन पुत्रस्नेहान्निरन्तरम् ।
पयसा पोषिताः स्त्रीभिर्वृक्षकाः ध्वंसमाहृताः ॥[२१]

(Raviṣeṇa)

In *Śākuntalam,* Kālidāsa depicts the condition of *Duṣyanta*—who is like a भ्रमर —unable to accept or reject the lotus in the morning owing to dew drops and in *Padma-*

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17. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 2/6.
18. *Padmapurāṇa,* 7/170.
19. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 2/36.
20. *Kumārasambhavam,* 5/14.
21. *Padmapurāṇa,* 53/226.

purāṇa, Raviṣeṇa, also describes the erotic pleasures as difficult to be left unenjoyed and yet hard to attain :

'न च खलु परिभोक्तुं नापि शक्नोमि हातुम् ।'२२

(Kālidāsa)

'दुस्त्यजानि दुरापानि कामसौख्यान्यवारितम् ।२३

(Raviṣeṇa)

In *Kumārasambhavam*, Kālidāsa draws the picture of *Pārvatī* counting the lotus-petals with the face stooped out of modesty and in *Padmapurāṇa* Raviṣeṇa borrows the same image for depicting mometic changes (अनुभाव) of *Añjanā* evident in her scratching the foot-nail with her finger and lowering her face out of the same emotion of modesty :

एवंवादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ।।२४

(Kālidāsa)

कीर्त्तयन्त्यां गुणानेवं तस्य सख्या सुमानसा ।
लिलेख लज्जयाङ्गुल्या कन्याङ्घ्रिनखमानता ।।२५

(Raviṣeṇa)

Raviṣeṇa's description of lion-chested and long-armed men echoes Kālidāsa's delineation of Dilīpa possessed of mostly the same epithets :

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22. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, 5/12.
23. *Padmapurāṇa*, 111/5.
24. *Kumārasambhavam*, 6/84.
25. *Padmapurāṇa*, 15/152. Also—

सखीं वदन्तीमिति लज्जया नता ।
जघान लीलाकमलेन कन्यका ।।

Padmapurāṇa 19/116.

व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः शालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः ।[२६]

(Kālidāsa)

नराश्चन्द्रमुखाः शूराः सिंहोरस्का महाभुजाः ।[२७]

(Raviṣeṇa)

Now, we embark upon the description of *svayaṃvara.* Kālidāsa gives us an account of the amorous gestures of the princes assembled in the svayaṃvara *viz.* rotation of *Līlāravinda* (लीलारविन्द) scratching the golden *Pādapīṭha,* chatting with the friend, grasping his hand and touching the crown (*Kirīṭa*) etc. Raviṣeṇa, also enumerates the aforesaid gestures :

तां प्रत्यभिव्यक्तमनोरथानां महीपतीनां प्रणयाग्रदूत्यः ।
प्रवालशोभा इव पादपानां शृङ्गारचेष्टा विविधा बभूवुः ।

कश्चित्कराभ्यामुपगूढनालमालोलपत्राभिहतद्विरेफम् ।
रजोभिरन्तः परिवेषबन्धि लीलारविन्दं भ्रमयाञ्चकार ।।

विस्रस्तमंसादपरो विलासी रत्नानुविद्धाङ्गदकोटिलग्नम् ।
प्रालम्बमुत्कृष्य यथावकाशं निनाय साचीकृतचारुवक्त्रः ।।

आकुञ्चिताग्राङ्गुलिना ततोऽन्यः किञ्चित्समावर्जितनेत्रशोभः ।
तिर्यग्विसंसर्पिनखप्रभेण पादेन हैमं विलिलेख पीठम् ।।

निवेश्य वामं भुजमासनार्धे तत्संनिवेशादधिकोन्नतांसः ।
कश्चिद्विवृत्तत्रिकभिन्नहारः सुहृत्समाभाषणतत्परोऽभूत् ।।

विलासिनीविभ्रमदन्तपत्रमापाण्डुरं केतकबर्हमन्यः ।
प्रियानितम्बोचितसन्निवेशैर्विपाटयामास युवा नखाग्रैः ।।

कुशेशयाताम्रतलेन कश्चित्करेण रेखाध्वजलांछनेन ।
रत्नाङ्गुलीयप्रभयानुविद्धानुदीरयामास सलीलमक्षान् ।।

कश्चिद्यथाभागमवस्थितेऽपि स्वसंनिवेशाद्व्यतिलङ्घिनीव ।
वज्रांशुगर्भाङ्गुलिरन्ध्रमेकं व्यापारयामास करं किरीटे ।।[२८]

(Kālidāsa)

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26. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 1/13.
27. *Padmapurāṇa,* 3/336.
28. *Raghuvaṃśa* 6.12-19.

अथ स्वयंवराशानां प्रवृत्ता व्योमचारिणाम् ।
मदनाश्लिष्टचित्तानामिति सुन्दरविभ्रमाः ॥

निष्कम्पमपि मूर्धस्थं मुकुटं कश्चिदुन्नतम् ।
अकरोत् किल निष्कम्पं रत्नांशुच्छन्नपाणिना ॥

कश्चित् कूर्परमाधाय कटिपार्श्वे सजृम्भणः ।
चक्रे देहस्य वलनं स्फुटत्सन्धिकृतस्वनम् ॥

प्रदेशेऽपि स्थितां कश्चिदुज्ज्वलामसिपुत्रिकाम् ।
असारयत् कराग्रेण कटाक्षकृतवीक्षणाम् ॥

पार्श्वगे पुरुषे कश्चिच्चलयत्येव चामरम् ।
सलीलमंशुकान्तेन चक्रे वीजनमानने ॥

× × ×

पादाङ्गुष्ठेन कश्चिच्च नेत्रान्तेक्षितकन्यकः ।
कृत्वा पाणितले गण्डं लिलेख चरणासनम् ॥

गाढमप्यपरो बद्धमुन्मुच्य कटिसूत्रकम् ।
बबन्ध शनकैर्भूयः शेषाणामिव चक्रकम् ॥

× × ×

पार्श्वस्थस्यापरो हस्तं सख्युरादाय सस्मितम् ।
कथां चक्रे विना हेतोः कन्याक्षिप्तचलेक्षणः ॥

अपरोऽभ्रमयत्पद्मं बद्धभ्रमरमण्डलम् ।
सव्येतरेण हस्तेन विसर्पन् कर्णिकारजः ॥[29]

(Raviṣeṇa)

As in *Raghuvaṃśa*, people say about *Aja* :

कामं नृपाः सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम् ।[30]

(Kālidāsa)

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29. *Padmapurāṇa*, 6.364-378. Also compare the *Raghuvaṃśa* (6.12-86) and *Padmapurāṇa* (6.359-423) for similar depiction of the gestures of Svayaṃvara-joining princes and kings, introduction of them by the lady friend of the bride, the appreciation of the wedded couple by the gentle mob and the fight between the selected and rejected kings.

30. *Raghuvaṃśa*, 6.22.

in *Padmapurāṇa, Sumaṅgalā* says about *Khecarbhānu* (खेचरभानु):

सत्यमन्येऽपि विद्यन्ते नाममात्रेण खेचराः
तेषां खद्योततुल्यानामयं भास्करतां गतः ॥३१

(Raviṣeṇa)

As in *Raghuvaṃśa,* after the svayaṃvara gentle citizens appriciate the union of *Aja* and *Indumatī* giving the simile of sea (समुद्र) and Gaṅgā (गंगा) so also in Padmapurāṇa, gentlemen appreciate the union of *Lavaṇa* and *Mandākinī*

शशिनमुपगतेयं कौमुदी मेघमुक्तं
जलनिधिमनुरूपं जह्नुकन्यावतीर्णा ।
इति समगुणयोगप्रीतयस्तत्र पौराः
श्रवणकटु नृपाणामेकवाक्यं विवव्रुः ॥३२

(Kālidāsa)

गम्भीरं भुवनाख्यातमुदारं लवणं गता ।
मन्दाकिनी यदेतं हि नापूर्णं कृतमेतया ॥

× × ×

इति तत्र विनिश्चेरुः सज्जनानां गिरः पराः ॥३३

(Raviṣeṇa)

In *Kumārasambhavam,* while describing the penance of Pārvatī, Kālidāsa says :

महार्हशय्यापरिवर्तनच्युतैः
स्वकेशपुष्पैरपि या स्म दूयते ।
अशेत सा बाहुलतोपधायिनी
निषेदुषी स्थण्डिल एव केवले ॥३४

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31. *Padmapurāṇa,* 6.398.
32. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 6/68.
33. *Padmapurāṇa,* 110/22-25.
34. *Kumārasambhavam,* 5/12.

F. 15

and in *Padmapurāṇa,* while describing the penance of *Anaṅgaśarā* Raviṣeṇa writes as follows :

शयनीयगतैः पुष्पैर्या स्वकेशच्युतैरपि ।
अग्रहीत् खेदमेवासौ स्थण्डिलेऽशेत केवले ।।[३५]

Now, to show the resemblance of the epigrams (सूक्ति) of Kālidāsa and Raviṣeṇa we quote a few before the readers :

(i) 'शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाधनम्' ।[३६]

(Kālidāsa)

'प्राणाः धर्मस्य हेतवः ।'[३७]
'भगवन्नपि ते देहे कुशलं कुशलाशय ।
मूलमेष हि सर्वेषां साधनानां सुचेष्टित ।।'[३८]

(Raviṣeṇa)

(ii) 'अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव ।'[३९]

(Kālidāsa)

'कन्या नाम प्रभो ! देया परस्मायेव निश्चयात् ।'[४०]

(Raviṣeṇa)

(iii) किं वाऽभविष्यदरुणस्तमसां विभेत्ता
तं चेत्सहस्रकिरणो धुरि नाऽकरिष्यत् ।[४१]

(Kālidāsa)

अवस्थितं जगद्व्याप्य नुदेदर्कः कथं तमः ?
सव्येष्टा चेन्द्रवेदस्य न मूर्तिररुणात्मिका ।।[४२]

(Raviṣeṇa)

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35. *Padmapurāṇa,* 64/80.
36. *Kumārasambhavam,* 5/33.
37. *Padmapurāṇa,* 4/97.
38. *Padmapurāṇa,* 17/26.
39. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam,* 4/22.
40. *Padmapurāṇa,* 9/32.
41. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam,* 7/4.
42. *Padmapurāṇa,* 24/128.

(iv) शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तडित्प्रलीयते ।[४३]

(Kālidāsa)

भास्करेण विना का द्यौः का निशा शशिना विना ?[४४]

(Raviṣeṇa)

The chamberlain (कञ्चुकिन्) of *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, in old age, remarks that his staff (यष्टि) was once a privilege in his young age but has now become mearly a support for his crabbed body and the Kancukin of *Padmapurāṇa* observes the same :

आचार इत्यधिकृतेन मया गृहीता या वेत्रयष्टिरवरोधगृहेषु राज्ञः ।[४५]
काले गते बहुतिथे मम सैव जाता प्रस्थानविक्लवगतेरवलम्बनार्था ॥

(Kālidāsa)

अधत्त यः पुरा शक्ति रिपुदारणकारिणीम् ।
करेण यष्टिमालम्ब्य तेन भ्राम्यामि साम्प्रतम् ॥[४६]

(Raviṣeṇa)

An unexpected but long-coveted vision of the dear ones evokes the image of a dream or a delusion in both the poets. King *Duṣyanta* of Abhijñānaśākuntalam says to *Māḍhavya* :

स्वप्नो नु माया नु मतिभ्रमो नु ?[४७]

(Kālidāsa)

and Janaka of Padmapurāṇa says to a messenger :

भद्र ! किं किमयं स्वप्नः स्याज्जाग्रत्प्रत्ययोऽथवा ?[४८]

(Raviṣeṇa)

Kālidāsa's *Duṣyanta* felicitates the persons having besmeared laps with the dust of the body of their babes :

आलक्ष्यदन्तमुकुलाननिमित्तहासै-
रव्यक्तवर्णरमणीयवचःप्रवृत्तीन् ।

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43. *Kumārasambhavam*, 4/33.
44. *Padmapurāṇa*, 99/95.
45. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, 5/3.
46. *Padmapurāṇa*, 29/59.
47. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, 6/10
48. *Padmapurāṇa*, 30/150.

अङ्काश्रयप्रणयिनस्तनयान् वहन्तो
धन्यास्तदङ्गरजसा मलिनीभवन्ति ।।४९

and according to Raviṣeṇa's *Videhā,* blessed is *Puṣpavatī* whose lap is sanctified with the dust of *Bhāmaṇḍala's* infant body :

धन्या पुष्पवती सुस्त्री या तेऽङ्गानि शैशवे ।
क्रीडता धूसराण्यङ्के निहितानि सुचुम्बितम् ।।५०

In *Meghadūta,* the *Yakṣa* of Kālidāsa, separated from his spouse, laments upon his inability to catch the beauty of his beloved in a congregated form in a single aspect of Nature :

श्यामास्वङ्गं चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
वक्त्रच्छायां शशिनि शिखिनां बर्हभारेषु केशान् ।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिसु भ्रूविलासान्
हन्तैकस्मिन् क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि ! सादृश्यमस्ति ।।५१

Put to the same plight, Raviṣeṇa's *Rāma* also bewails in the same fashion with a slight elaboration :

केशभारं मयूरीषु तस्याः पश्यामि सुन्दरम् ।
अपर्याप्तशशाङ्के च लक्ष्मीमलिकसम्भवाम् ।।

त्रिवर्णाम्भोजखण्डेषु श्रियं लोचनगोचराम् ।
शोणपल्लवमध्यस्थसितपुष्पे स्मितत्विषम् ।।

स्तबकेषु सुजातेषु कान्तिमत्सु स्तनश्रियम् ।
जिनस्नपनवेदीनां शोभां मध्येषु मध्यमाम् ।।

तासामेवोर्ध्वभागेषु नितम्बभरताकृतिम् ।
ऊरुशोभां सुजातासु कदलीस्तम्भिकासु ताम् ।।

पद्मेषु चरणाभिख्यां स्थलसम्प्राप्तजन्मसु ।
शोभां तु समुदायस्य तस्याः पश्यामि न क्वचित् ।।५२

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49. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam,* 7/17.
50. *Padmapurāṇa,* 30/161.
51. *Meghadūta, Uttaramegha,* 46.
52. *Padmapurāṇa,* 48.14-18.

Apart from the illustrations cited above where Raviṣeṇa has either elaborated the ideas of Kālidāsa or adopted them verbatim, instances may be quoted where the inspiration and not the motive of imitation is predominent. The description of natural landscapes by Raviṣeṇa's[53] Rāma to Sītā while their way-back home might have been inspired by Kālidāsa's Rāma unfolding the series of natural panorama on traversing the sky with Sītā by Puṣpaka Vimāna[54]; the similarity not accidental of course may also be discerned in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* on similar occassion.[55]

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53. *Padmapurāṇa*, 82.1-22.

54. *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto 13.

55. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddhakāṇḍa, 23 Canto (Gita Press, Gorakhpur).

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DIVORCE IN DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS AND THE MODERN HINDU LAW

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Due to sacramental nature of Hindu marriage ancient Hindu Law, led by Manu, discourages divorce and binds the parties forever. Later texts of Nārada, Parāśara, and Bṛhaspati provided for divorce and remarriage in certain conditions. Section 13 of the Modern Hindu Law 1955 also makes provision for that with some further modifications. The author studies the Act in the context of modern society, throws light on its loopholes and opines that basically the Act should rely upon the Ancient Law but it should be more humane and adaptable to the needs of the modern society.

The present paper deals critically with salient aspects of law of divorce amongst Hindus as tolerated in Dharma-śāstras and permitted recently by Hindu Marriage Act in 1955. Since the paper is basically on comparative law of divorce I will confine myself to the problem of divorce then and now and point out the prominent weaknesses of the modern law of the divorce as contained in S. 13[1] of the Hindu Marriage Act 1955.

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1. *Divorce* (1) Any marriage solemnized, whether before or afer the commencement of this Act, may, on a petition presented by

The Position of divorce in early Dharmaśāstra

The Author of the present paper may safely begin with the examination of the legal position from Manu and his

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either the husband or the wife, be dissolved by decree of divorce on the ground that the other party:

(i) is living in adultery ; or

(ii) has ceased to be Hindu by conversion to another religion or

(iii) has been incurably of unsound mind for a continuous period of not less than three years immediately preceding the presentation of the petition or ;

(iv) has, for a period of not less than three years immediately preceding the presentation of the petition, been suffering from a virulent and incurable form of leprosy ; or

(v) has, for a period of not less than three years immediately preceding the presentation of the petition, been suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form ; or

(vi) has renounced the world by entering any religious order ; or

(vii) has not been heard of as being alive for a period of seven years or more by those persons who would naturally have heard of it, had that party been alive.

(1A) Either party to a marriage, whether solemnized before or after the commencement of this Act, may also present a petition for the dissolution of the marriage by a decree of divorce on the ground ;

(i) that there has been no resumption of conjugal rights as between the parties to the marriage for a period of two years or upwards

Mānava Dharmaśāstra. The discussion may be opened with the negative mark from Manu who observed;

न माता न पिता न स्त्री न पुत्रस्त्यागमर्हति ।[2]

The problem of comparison arises from the date when learned jurists including Nārada[3] and Parāśara[4] conceded some points in this regard. Before the age of these jurists with progressive thinking, the arena was fully occupied by true Dharmaśāstrins led by Manu and his *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* as the principal authority. The *Manusmṛti* declared—

न निष्क्रयविसर्गाभ्यां भर्तुर्भार्या विमुच्यते ।[5]

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after the passing of a decree for judicial separation in a proceeding to which they were parties; or

(ii) that there has been no restitution of conjugal rights as between the parties to the marriage for a period of two years or upwards after the passing of a decree for restitution of conjugal rights in a proceeding to which they were parties.

(2) A wife may also present a petition for the dissolution of her marriage by a decree of divorce on the ground;

(i) in the case of any marriage solemnized before the commencement of this Act, that the husband had married again before such commencement or that any other wife of the husband married before such commencement was alive at the time of the solemnization of the marriage of the petitioner.

Provided that in either case the other wife is alive at the time of the presentation of the petition; or

(ii) that the husband has since the solemnization of the marriage, been guilty of rape, sodomy or bestiality.

2. *Manu*, VIII.389.

3. *Infra*.

4. *Infra*.

5. *Manu*, IX.46.

These jurists stressed more on marital fidelity and could not think of divorce amongst Hindus wedded in approved forms;[6] and insisted that the mutual fidelity continues till death of both the parties. How could the question of divorce arise if the girl was gifted out with all virtues and beauty to a boy with all the attributes and husbandship. In fact, the qualifications of the parties were so fully elaborated, so well defined and so much insisted upon for observance in practice that very little scope was left for the parties to tolerate and complain. The marriage was a perfect union of flesh to flesh and the soul to soul with stringent religious injunction emphasising a free and fearless cohabitation. The sad affairs of divorce could not be thought upon and the matter went unrecorded.

However, Kauṭilya did not overlook the problem and he provided for divorce and re-marriage of a woman in certain circumstances. Manu tried for equality of the husband and wife with slight leaning towards the prerogatives of the husband. The Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* regarded Hindu Marriage as a contract. His view of the Hindu marriage thus comes close to the Mohammedan form of marriages. As such the marriage was open to all actions for rescission. It must be said though that conditions under which Kauṭilya permits

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6. See however,

विधिवत्प्रतिगृह्यापि त्यजेत् कन्यां विगर्हिताम् ।
व्याधितां विप्रदुष्टां वा छद्मना चोपपादिताम् ॥

Manu, IX.72

It means that it will not be a sin in the circumstances of the case. This however, does not mean recognition of divorce as it is presently understood.

divorce are applicable ordinarily in the last four kinds of less approved marriages only.[7]

At this stage the comparison with the position of divorce in English Law may usefully be considered. In England no divorce was allowed. The Christian marriage was a union of one man and one woman for a life.[8] The rite of marriage was like matches which lit once could not be re-ignited. The law did not allow divorce between legally wedded parties, let what may come. If the position did not remain within control and the marriage-life became hell for one reason or the other, the English law allowed mental divorce (*mensa it thoro*) which came to be known as judicial separation in course of time. This snapped the coitus temporarily and left the parties to cool down and ponder over the whole that had occured. If the parties could not reconcile still, they were asked to move the House of Lords by a private Bill to regain the right to re-marry. This was a judicial proceeding though in garb of legislative process. This was such a long and complicated procedure that parties seldom dared to tread upon it.

In India, the nature of Hindu Marriage was essentially sacramental.[9] The marriage is one of the sixteen *Saṃs-*

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7. ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्षः प्राजापत्यस्तथाऽऽसुरः ।
गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधमः ॥

Manu, III.21.

The last four kinds of marriages are thus : Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca.

8. Cf. Hyde Vs. Hyde (1866), *L.R.I.* ; P. & D. 130.

9. Ceremonies for a Hindu marriage :—(1) A Hindu marriage may be solemnized in accordance with the customary rites and ceremonies of either party thereto : (2) where such rites and ceremonies include the *Saptapadī* (that is, the taking of seven steps by the bride-

kāras (Sacraments) with which a human life is 'purified'. Inspite of the fact that many of the sacraments have now been made optional and many abrogated, the fact is that almost cent per cent marriages amongst Hindus are still solemnized through Vedic rituals attending the marriage throughout. *Saptapadī, Kanyādāna* and *Homa* are still necessary formalities[10] of a valid Hindu Marriage. The question of divorce therefore was unthinkable in the circumstances of the case. The sacramental character of marriage discourages divorce altogether and binds the parties forever. It believes in perpetual relationship. It cannot think of couple's separation even after death of either or both the parties. One even comes across the notion that the same parties have been wedded together in all the ages in the past and they will remain so together even after the body is consigned to fire.[11]. Their souls migrate from one body to another but do not depart. The sacramental character of the marriage was affected neither by provisions for re-marriage nor recognition of *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriages, nor by the practice of *Niyoga* nor intercaste marriages, nor mixed marriages.

But the Act,[12] provided for the divorce u/s 13 of the

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groom and the bride jointly before the sacred fire) the marriage becomes complete and binding when the seventh step is taken. Cf. Section 7-A inserted by the Tamilnad Government known as Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act 21 of 1967.

10. Act No : 25 of 1965.

11. *Ibid.*

Cf. सतीव योषित् प्रकृतिः सुनिश्चला पुमांसमभ्येति भवान्तरेष्वपि ।

12. *Ibid.*

Hindu Marriage Act,[13] 1955. There are in all eleven[14] grounds on which a decree of divorce may be pronounced by Indian Courts. Nine amongst these are common to all whether men or women. But there are two[15] grounds that are available as additional grounds only to wives. The additional grounds are the commission of unnatural offences by husband like sodomy, bestiality and rape and keeping second wife along with one i.e. Bigamy. There is one ground i.e. cruelty[16] on which divorce may be sought by either party. A critical analysis of the various grounds as enumerated under section 13 confirms one to the view that what has been allowed by Indian Codifiers, is not in fact divorce but a new remedy in nature of divorce. In fact,

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13. *Ibid.*

14. Seven grounds i.e. living in Adultery, Apostasy, Incurable Lunacy, Leprosy, and Venereal diseases for three years, Renunciation of the world or civil death, presumed death, were originally included in the parent act., two grounds i.e. non-restitution of conjugal rights even after decree to the effect and expiry of a period of two years after decree, and no consummation after decree of judicial separation were added subsequently.

15. The two additional grounds available to wives alone are bigamy, and commission of unnatural offences like sodomy, bestiality, rape etc.

16. In its application to Hindu domiciled in U.P. and also when either party to the marriage was not at the time of marriage a Hindu domiciled in U.P., Section 13 (i) in sub-section (1) after clause (i) insert the following :—(1a) has persistently or repeatedly treated the petitioner with such cruelty as to cause a reasonable apprehension in the mind of the petitioner that it will be harmful or injurious for the petitioner to live with the other party ; see U.P. Act XIII of 1962. Section 2 (7-11-1962).

the condifiers purported to follow western styles of terminating the mariage. But due to lack of vision and foresightedness they stepped into wrong shoes and stopped half way in between.

Mutual Divorce

One cannot get rid of a wicked wife whom one does not like and wants to get rid of. No law helps him. The long arms of the justice and law are helpless in this case. No release from wife, no relinquishment, no consent[16-a] or nothing else can give the relief he wants. He will be allowed to suffer without wife while having a wife. This would really be a very sad occasion. This situation cannot be met even if his wife decides to co-operate with him in getting rid of marital ties. That is, he cannot be free even if her consent to be divorced is wilfully given. We have at present no provision for mutual divorce or unilateral divorce, in the Act. Law in this regard seems to have been vividly explained by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* where he wrote that neither a woman though hating her husband can dissolve her marriage with her husband against his will, nor can a man dissolve his marriage with his wife against her will, but from mutual enmity (or mutual understanding) the divorce may be obtained. If a man apprehending danger from his wife desires divorce, (he will get it) subject to the provision that he shall return to her what was given by her. If the woman under the apprehension of danger from her husband desires divorce she shall forfeit her claim to his property. Keeping

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16a. See however,

या रोगिणी स्यात्तु हिता सम्पन्ना चैव शीलतः ।
साऽनुज्ञाप्याऽधिवेत्तव्या नावमान्या च कर्हिचित् ॥

Manu, IX.82.

these progressive ideas in view one fails to understand the logic behind the rules of divorce as provided in the Act. The provision for divorce by mutual consent may be provided in the Act. Divorce is permissible amongst the lower classes of the people by custom and was attainable through the media of caste or court. These divorces were usually effected by mutual consent on the payment of some compensation for marriage expenses incurred at the first marriage or the return of *Palu* and by a release of *Char Chitthi*. There is nothing immoral in this custom by which the divorce and re-marriage was permissible on mutual agreement after one party paying to the other the expenses of the latter's original marriage.[17]

Supersession

Consider another situation involving utter disappointment after marriages. The Hindu marriage is a sacrament and is gone through for procreation of *Dharmaputra*. If the wife fails to deliver forth a son, the husband is not free to take another wife according to present law. One may accuse the partisan attitude adopted by Manu at this place. But that deserves critical appreciation at present. Manu is said to have provided that[18]

वन्ध्याष्टमेऽधिवेद्याऽब्दे दशमे तु मृतप्रजा ।
एकादशे स्त्रीजननी सद्यस्त्वप्रियवादिनी ।।

Regarding wives the law was laid down by Kauṭilya who provided for marriage of woman in certain circumstances. Wives who belong to the Śūdra, Vaiśya, Kṣatriya, or Brāhmaṇa Caste, and who have not given birth to children, should wait for one, two, three or four years respectively for their

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17. Sankaranlingam Chetti Vs. Subban Chetti 17 Madras 479 (1894).

18. *Manusmṛti*, IX.81.

husbands who have gone abroad for a short time, then the *Jñātis* (relatives) should allow them to marry. In cases where the husband is Brāhmaṇa and has to be away from home for his studies or where he is servant of the King and hence has to be away from home, the wife has to wait for ten years in the former case and in latter case until his death. A young wife who is wedded according to the first four kinds of marriage, has, if she is abandoned by her husband, to wait for seven months before she can re-marry. Widows and wives of eunuchs and other persons, were recognised as capable of marrying again according to the texts of Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya. Later texts of Nārada, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati relaxed the law further. These requirements for waiting implicitly provide that the marriage with the former husband may be treated to be dissolved after the expiry of the period of waiting.

Limping Marriages

Another problem deserves closer scrutiny. It is possibility of limping marriages. 'Limping' means when the two wheels of the marital life (the husband and wife) are not moving properly. They are neither broken nor stopped but only one of them is moving without any active co-operation from the other. This is without any fault from either or without any fault of their own. The Hindu Law of Marriage provides nothing for such a contingency and the law of the whole world is silent on the point. I will put this problem through an illustration. Suppose 'A' is a man from India. He marries a Russian girl, while staying in Russia as collegiate. The marriage is consummated and husband returns to India. In the meanwhile, an order of the Russian Government nullifies such marriages. The wife and husband both want to remain bound by the marriage. They are loyal to it. The wife moves to leave Russia for meeting her

husband but she is not allowed. The wife moves for divorce which she cannot get because there is no legal marriage which presupposes the decree of divorce. The marriage is recognised as valid in India. The husband moves for divorce but none of the grounds apply to his case.[19] This and such other cases should be taken care of by the Act.

Deficient Law

I will now take you to the statutory provisions in India. You have a cruel right of divorce and not a healthy way of divorce. The marriage is not for fun or frolic. It is reservoir of trust and fidelity. The marriage Act hits right at this basic concept. When one's wife needs more help and greater attention, one is free to throw her on the road destitute of all to starve and beg, howsoever, great love, sincerity and devotion she may be having for her husband, because she is suffering from mental, physical or venereal disease. Similar is the position of the Hindu husband. Three years' leprosy, lunacy and venereal diseases are enough for the counterpart to seek divorce.[20] I think, it would be more humane if in these cases the parties are allowed factual separation with maintenance or at the most supersession with provision for maintenance and in no case divorce.

Inequality while trying for equality of sex

The section 13 seems to put both the sexes on the same footing so far as law of Divorce is concerned. Our country has adopted Patriarchial system of family and it would be unwise on the part of law to put both the sexes on the same

19. See Kenward Vs. Kenward, 1951 P. 124.

20. See Clauses 4, 3, 5 of Section 13 of Hindu Marriage Act.

board without modifying the basic concept of the family ties. The attempted equality appears to be affected by a clear bias when we examine the additional grounds available to a Hindu wife, for claiming divorce. She can claim divorce if the husband commits rape or sodomy, bestiality and other unnatural offences. But nowhere it has been provided that the husband can claim divorce if the wife is guilty of lesbianism or similar unnatural offences. The balance seems to have tilted in favour of wives to a complete disregard of equality of sex which seems to be the ground norm of section 13.

Nārada and Parāśara on divorce

The views of Nārada and Parāśara[21] deserve closer scrutiny in the light of the statutory provisions in the Marriage Act. They are said to have acceded to the wife a right of re-marriage in five 'calamities', namely : when whereabouts of the husband are not known, when he is dead, when he has renounced the world, if he is impotent or has 'fallen' (from his caste by his bad conduct). This is the position in Modern Law also. The Indian Evidence Act provides[22] for presumed death in similar circumstances and this point has been accepted as ground of divorce in section 13 (7) of

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21. नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीवे च पतिते पतौ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते॥

—Nārada XII.97, Parāśara IV.27.

22. *Burden of proving that person is alive who has not been heard of for 7 years*—Provided that when the question is whether a man is alive or dead and it is proved that he has not been heard of for 7 years by those who would naturally have heard of him if he had been alive, the burden of proving that he is alive is shifted to the person who affirms it. Section 108 of the Act No. 1 of 1872.

Hindu Marriage Act. Another case, provided for by Hindu Jurists is death of the husband. This point needs no elaboration. The third ground is renunciation of the world and adoption of religious order. This ground has found favour in the present Act. The fourth and fifth grounds deserve special attention. Impotency and moral degradation have been accepted as grounds of divorce in the present Act.

The critical survey gone through above shows that the germs of divorce were present even in early Hindu Law. These have now been fully developed and find expression in the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 passing through the modifications starting from Nārada, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati. The Dharmaśāstrian Culture favoured the establishment of sacramental marriage for Hindus of higher caste. Our revered ṛṣis tried again and again to elavate the standard of Hindu Marriage. But their efforts could not succeed and with the infiltration of non-Āryans in India, the tide of their culture could not be arrested. Consequently, the Āryans had to assimilate the non-Āryan traditions and customs and divorce had to be tolerated at least amongst lower classes with a gradual trend in upward direction. The comparative study so briefly gone through leads one to conclude further that modern law of divorce is failing to meet the requirements of the society and is tending to be out of tune. The law needs revision in light of the changes that have taken place in the mood of the people since 1955. More and more divorce petitions are now being filed. The parties are compelled to plead one ground or the other given in the Act. The ground of adultery, is quite popular.[23] The Act is proving

23. There are about 26 cases decided by Indian Courts on Adultery, about 4 on insanity; 4 on diseases; 6 on ground of judicial separation, 16 on grounds of non-restitution of conjugal rights;

deficient. The grounds selected in this paper for review of the provisions of divorce as enumerated in section 13 are merely illustrative. There are more loopholes that may be studied by the experts of personal law. The present law[24] has much to rely on the ancient law and can borrow much of old law with slight renovation.

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5 on grounds of bigamy and 1 on grounds of sterility. (Based on the survey of A.I.R. Manual. Vol, II).

24. Cf. Divorce Act 1869, Section 10, Special Marriages Act 1954. Section 27; Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act 1936; Section 32; (English) Matrimonial causes Act 1954 Section 10; (U.K.) Divorce Reforms Act 1969 Section 1 and 2.

THE CONCEPT OF SAHAJA IN THE ĀDI GRANTHA

By Raj Kumar Arora

Chandigarh

Attainment of *Sahajāvasthā* has been the ultimate goal of all the spiritual aspirants, whatever be their mode of practice. It is a means as well as an end in itself. The *Ādi Grantha* rejects yogic practices, self mortification, suppression of desires etc. and recommends for the path of ethical life, love and devotion. The state of *sahaja* is a state of bliss, rest and oneness. There is only one *Śūnya* and no duality. After having attained *sahajāvasthā* the aspirant's mind is stilled; living in it he enjoys the *sahaja*.

Introduction

Sahaja, both as a means as well as an end has been extensively discussed by the Siddhas, the Tāntrikas, the Sāhajjiyas, the Nāthas and the Santas. It has been repeatedly menioned by them that the only purpose of their sādhanā is to attain the state of sahaja. It is true that the Siddhas, the Tāntrikas and the Nāthas relied on their different yogic practices to attain the goal, whereas the Santas, no doubt, refer to these practices here and there, but their chief emphasis is on love and devotion to attain the state of sahaja. The importance of sahaja was so widespread that we find the emergence of a new path, called the Sahajayāna, within the general frame work of the later forms of Buddhism. The culture of sahaja continued penetrating from one cult to the other, of course with varying degree of emphasis, with regard to the concept and methodology, till its spirit was imbibed by the promulgators of the Santa cult. Thus in this process of transit certain old things associated with this concept were discarded and some new meanings were attached. It is said that

Sarhapa,[1] a luminary of the Nalanda University, started the Sahajayāna in protest against the existing Buddhism which had become profane, unnatural and outdated. Buddhism had now lost its original purity and had reduced itself to a hotch potch of rituals and ceremonies. In order to extract it from the cobweb of formalities, it required the services of dedicated teachers which it found in Sarhapa and the other Siddhas. They gave great prominence to sahaja in their scheme of spiritual endeavour. "All efforts of that individual will come to nought if he thinks of attaining nirvāṇa without sahaja."[2] "He who has attained sahaja has nothing to attain more, for whatever is knowable is contained in sahaja."[3] In the Tāntric literature we also come across many references about sahaja. "None can explain sahaja. Words fail to convey its inner meanings. One can experience sahaja, when one serves the feet of the guru."[4] "The *Yoginikula* also advocates the doctrine of sahaja. It defines sahaja almost in terms of the Buddhist mystics as a state in which the mind attains immobility, becomes free from duality and illusion."[5] Sahaja both as means and ultimate goal finds much prominence in the Buddhist Tāntric literature also. "The name Sāhajjiya seems to be doubly significant, it is sahaja because, its aim is to realize the ultimate innate nature (sahaja) of the self as well as of the dharmas, and it is Sahajayāna also because of the fact that instead of suppressing and thereby implicating undue strain on the human

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1. Keshni Prasad Chaurasia, *Madhya Kālīna Hindī Santa Vicāra Aur Sādhanā*, p. 516.

2. *Dohā Kośa*, p. 17.

3. *Ibid.* p. 117.

4. *Braj Tantra*, p. 22 (B).

5. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, P. C. Bagchi, (Evolution of the Tantras) p. 223.

nature itself, it adopts a natural way. What is natural is the easiest; and thus sahaja, from its primary meaning of being natural acquires the secondary meaning of being easy, straight and plain."[6] For the Nāthas the attainment of sahaja was the highest goal. "The aim of the esoteric practices of the cult (Nātha) was the attainment of the state of nativity i.e. neutrality (sahaja) where there is no birth or death as such."[7] Kabīra and Dādū also echo the same sentiments. "All speak of sahaja, but none knows what sahaja actually means. That is really sahaja, through which a man leaves off all his objects of desire; that is called sahaja which keeps the five (senses) well under control; that is really sahaja, in which the son, the wife, all wealth and desires remain merged together, and in which Kabīra becomes the maid of Rāma; that is really sahaja, through which the Lord is realized in a natural way."[8] "Let us proceed, O Dādū, to the land where neither the sun nor the moon can go, where there is no access for day and night—every thing remains mystery in sahaja."[9]

Sahaja—The Natural way

To attain the supreme blissful state i.e. sahaja, leaders of different cults have recommended their own paths which they call as sahaja-mārga. The Siddhas and the Nāthas emphasize the practice of various yogic postures and exercises and they are of the view that their method is the internal natural method. We know that the Siddhas laid considerable emphasis on the doctrines of Prajñā and Upāya and the

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6. S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 77.

7. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV. Sukumar Sen, The Nath Cult, pp. 288-89.

8. *Kabīra Granthāvalī*, pp. 41, 42.

9. Kshitimohan Sen. *Dādū*, p. 283.

Nāthas on the union of Śiva and Śakti, and the doctrine of sahaja is elaborated within the frame work of these two aspects of reality. In their scheme of sādhanā piercing of the six cakras, rousing of the kuṇḍalinī śakti, ajapā japa, holding of breath etc. etc. are considered the most authoritative means for complete identity with the Supreme Reality. The Sahaja-yānī Vaiṣṇavas put these yogic practices in the background and strongly recommended the path of love, devotion. "Sahaja is used in the writings of Sāhajjiya Vaiṣṇavas. But they discard the concept of the Buddhist Sāhajjayas. They have incorporated love in their concept. In other words we can say that the highest state of love is sahaja."[10] With the passage of time the concept of Sahaja was sufficiently shorn of its yogic connotation and the Santas began to propagate it as a path quite natural to human beings and quite in harmony with the performance of the worldly duties. That is why we find that the Santas were householders and never recommended the abandonment of the world. They showed by their lives that the spiritual life and performance of worldly duties go together.

Means to Attain the State of Sahaja

In the *Ādi Grantha* we come across some ways and means to attain sahaja which accord well with the main teachings of the Santas. The Gurus reject many practices advocated by different currents of religious thoughts whose mention we have already made. They are of the firm view that yogic practices are useless in this regard and strongly recommend the path of ethical life, love of God, service of guru, the sahaja way etc. etc. to attain the goal. Penance, self mortification and suppression of desires have been re-

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10. Trigunayat, *Kabīra Kā Yoga Aur Uskī Dārśanika Pṛṣṭhabhūmi*, p. 718.

jected outright. "I have practised austerities and self discipline and controlled my senses through Haṭha yoga, but met the Lord in a sahaja way."[11] The Sikh religion is a great votary of this natural way or sahaja path. "One gets sahaja or bliss in a sahaja way."[12] "Through sahaja I have seen the Unmanifest Lord and the Light of the Formless Lord."[13] "In whose heart lives the Lord is liberated, he attains the state of sahaja in a sahaja way.[14] The Sikh Gurus emphatically declare, "He alone meets the Lord, who meets him in a sahaja way."[15] "When you do not believe in Him, and do not love the Lord in a sahaja way, you do not relish the taste of the śabda. It is no use to practice Haṭha yoga."[16]

This sahaja path has been discussed in a variety of ways. The Sikh faith gives us many options in this matter. Of course, these options are not exclusive of each other, but they are the tangents of the sahaja path. God's constant rememberance and praises by the devotee enable him to attain sahaja. "Those who remember the Lord, abide in the state of sahaja.[17] "Those who praise the Lord enjoy the sahaja bliss.[18] Love of the Lord is also the sahaja path. "By loving the Lord sahaja bliss entered my mind.[19] Performing good deeds also lead to sahaja." "Because of good deeds, one sees

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11. The *Ādi Grantha,* p. 436.
12. *Ibid.* pp. 66, 68, 114, 115, 1107.
13. *Ibid.* p. 68.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 127.
15. *Ibid.* p. 686.
16. *Ibid.* p. 546.
17. *Ibid.* pp. 26, 121.
18. *Ibid.* pp. 47, 409.
19. *Ibid.* pp. 389, 584, 690.

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the Lord and attains the state of sahaja,"[20] We all know that in the Sikh religion the Guru occupies a unique position. His service and grace enable us to attain his state. Without his aid none is accepted for this blissful experience. "One attains sahaja when one serves Guru. All his cravings are stilled."[21] "All people crave for sahaja, but without the guru none can attain it."[22] "By the grace of the Guru, we attain sahaja. Our duality vanishes and we love the One alone."[23] "When by the instructions of the guru, the Lord abides in our heart, we attain sahaja bliss.[24] "By repairing to the feet of the Guru, sahaja state is awakened in me, and all my desires are fulfilled. When one is in the state of sahaja, through the śabda, the melody rings very sweet."[25] When the grace of the Lord is on us, we attain the sahaja state. "By the grace of the Lord, one receives honour at the door of the Lord and one merges in sahaja.[26] "What pleases you, I accept, that bring sahaja to me."[27] "When the Lord is in mercy one enters the abode of Fearlessness, all one's sorrow and strifes are gone and one merges in the state of sahaja."[28] Complete surrender is another way to attain sahaja. "When I surrender my body, mind and intellect to the Guru, I sleep in sahaja."[29] Stray references to ethical values are also mentioned. "When the mind is free

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20. *Ibid.* p. 29.
21. *Ibid.* pp. 65, 111, 128.
22. *Ibid.* p. 119.
23. *Ibid.* p. 119.
24. *Ibid.* p. 163.
25. *Ibid.* 6. 849.
26. *Ibid.* pp. 31, 459, 460.
27. *Ibid.* pp. 380.
28. *Ibid.* pp. 496-97.
29. *Ibid.* p. 380.

from all evils, one realizes the Oversoul within and merges in nāma—the sahaja."[30]

Thus we find that the Gurus strictly adhere to the sahaja (natural) path to attain the state of sahaja. They do not emphasize on the yogic practices as we come across in the teachings of the Nāthas, the Siddhas and the Sāhajjiyas. Full faith in the Guru, his teaching, his grace, as well as the practice of moral virtues have been widely stressed upon. The doctrine of love in this connection has been given a very high place. Over and above these the will of the Lord and His grace are also very important factors in the doctrine of sahaja. Moreover, while pressing on their followers, the Gurus knew well from the personal experience that sahaja mārga suited well to the psychology of the common man. The appeal of the Gurus was to the common man, who was simple, in habits and thoughts and relied more on emotion and less on intellect for his religious enterprize. Therefore, they touched the inmost feelings of the heart. In fact, the Bhakti current is saturated with mystical love, which, according to the Gurus was the sahaja or the natural path. We all know that the Gurus have invariably discarded the scholastic attitude in their sādhanā. As Underhills puts it, "Mysticism claims to be able to know the Unknowable without any help from dialects, and believes that, by the way of love and will, it reaches a point to which thought alone is unable to attain. It is the heart and not the reason which leads us to the Absolute."[31] "In order to understand sahaja sādhanā we must remember some psychological facts. The human heart is naturally inclined towards emotions. The Santas have stressed the development of this emotional aspect in a natural way. As

30. *Ibid.* p. 39.

31. *Mysticism*, p. 86.

long as this tendency is yoked to worldly objects, it is of the world, for the world and by the world. But when it is directed within and is tagged to God, we style it as bhakti. The Santas have brought this tendency in bold relief and explained it in beautiful language."[32]

Sahaja Dhyāna—Sahaja Samādhi

It has already been stated that the doctrine of sahaja was sufficiently widespread among the leaders of various cults and creeds. Its pre-eminence is judged by the fact that its association with other terms was also widely used. The Siddhas and the Santas called their sādhanā as sahaja yoga, sahaja samādhi, sahaja dhyāna, and their ultimate aim as sahaja ānanda or sahaja sukha. "The Siddhas gave such a profound importance to sahaja that with every thing connected with their sādhanā they used this word, like sahaja jñāna, sahaja tattva, sahaja sukha, sahaja pantha and sahaja samādhi."[33] Pointed references are also available in the Nātha literature. "The followers of the Nātha cult use this word as sahaja mārga, sahaja samādhi, parama tattva etc. etc."[34] The Gurus[35] have also continued the tradition about the use of sahaja when they say, "Where there is sahaja dhyāna, one drinks nectar and really serves the Guru.[36]" "When one remembers the Lord always, he is in sahaja dhyāna.[37]" "In sahaja samādhi all our afflictions are removed and the coming and going also ceases."[38] "In this state one

32. Trigunayat, *op. cit.* pp. g43-44.
33. *Dohākośa,* p. 149.
34. Keshni Prasad Chaurasia, *op. cit* p. 521
35. The *Ādi Grantha,* p. 26.
36. *Ibid.* p. 777.
37. *Ibid.* p. 781
38. *Ibid.* p. 46.

drinks the essence of the Lord's nāma."[39] "I am always in sahaja samādhi. I contemplate the deep and unfathomable Lord."[40] "I enter sahaja when I am in deep sleep."[41] "In the śūnya samādhi, the mind is merged in sahaja.[42]" The importance of guru is rightly stressed here. "Only the fortunate ones find the true Guru. They are always in sahaja dhyāna.[43]" Describing the state of sahaja samādhi the *Ādi Grantha*[44] mentions, "As the water merges in water, and the light in the light, so one merges in the perfect Puruṣa, one knows one's essence, that is the state of sahaja samādhi."

Santas like Dādū and Kabīra also made many references to sahaja samādhi. "Sahaja samādhi is not either a temporary or permanent state of mind. It is the complete transformation of one's own nature. It is at once a new, pure and natural life which changes our being and environments. It is a state of our internal purity which is the most precious gift given to us by the Guru.[45]" Parashu Ram Chaturvedi[46] while discussing sahaja samādhi of Dādū says, "The secret of Dādū's sahaja samādhi is that the devotee always feels himself in the company of the Lord. His body is in the world, but it works under His direction." "In the words of Nihar Ranjan Ray,[47] "An analysis of these disciplines seems to indicate that what Guru Nānaka (and other Gurus also)

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39. *Ibid.* pp. 107, 122.
40. *Ibid.* p. 574.
41. *Ibid.* p. 1315.
42. *Ibid.* p. 904.
43. *Ibid.* p. 797.
44. *Ibid.* p. 578.
45. *Kabīra Granthāvalī,* p. 1.
46. *Uttara Bhārata Men Santa Paramparā,* p. 449.
47. *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society,* p. 118.

was aiming at was a transformation of the individual psyche and will be bending and directing both towards the ultimate goal of achieving the merger with the ultimate Absolute." "This process is styled in the Santa Mata as the sahaja yoga. Here we come across several small currents coalescing with one another like God's praises and remembering Him, His grace, directing our craving, desires, tendencies, ambitions, achievements etc. etc. within and think and talk and feel always of God. This is called sahaja yoga because it condemns hard penances, Haṭha Yoga and the allied practices and firmly recommends the path which is easy, straight and natural. This is quite in harmony and consonance with our real life. The instinctive life needs sublimation and the direction and convergence of all the faculties towards one road. At present the mind travels in several worldly roads, lanes and bye lanes. By the sahaja yoga it must move on only one road, which leads to God.

Nāma and Sahaja.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the *Ādi-Grantha* while recommending several paths to attain the ultimate Reality places the greatest emphasis on nāma mārga. Nāma like sahaja is considered both as a means as well as the end. We come across its relation with sahaja at some places in the *Ādi Grantha.* Nāma is considered as a means and sahaja as an end. "Let us remember nāma and ask for nāma from the Lord. With its help we attain the state of sahaja.[48]" "When nāma enters our mind, we attain the state of sahaja.[49]" "In a natural way, sow the seeds of nāma, the crop will be abundant, and then the mind is in the state of sahaja.[50]" "When

48. The *Ādi Grantha*, p. 26.
49. *Ibid.* p. 34.
50. *Ibid.* 35.

one drinks the essence of nāma, he is dyed in the colour of sahaja."[51] "I have received nāma, and merged in Truth in a sahaja way.[52]" "In certain hymns sahaja and nāma point to the same state of mind. "Reaching the state of sahaja, one merges in nāma."[53] "The wise have nāma as their treasure and they trade in sahaja.[54]" One is always in bliss and merges in nāma in the state of sahaja.[55]" "I have subdued my desires and the sense of duality. In the state of sahaja I attain the infinite nāma.[56]"

Mind and Sahaja.

The mind with its conation, cognition and affection processes is always moving away from its centre, the Home. All its activities are world oriented. Its wanderings never come to an end. It is completely soaked and saturated with earthly things. But in the state of sahaja there is wholesale transformation of the mind. Instead of running away it gets rest and calm. Now it has to go nowhere and abides in its own nest. "In the state of sahaja, the mind rests at its own place and its wanderings cease.[57]" "The diamond (of the mind) is pierced through with the diamond (of the Lord) and the wavering mind is held in sahaja.[58]." Here we find that the sahaja state is akin with the state of śūnya. "When the mind is held in śūnya, then the swan (mind) does not

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51. *Ibid.* p. 448.
52. *Ibid.* p. 591.
53. *Ibid.* p. 30.
54. *Ibid.* p. 68.
55. *Ibid.* p. 448.
56. *Ibid.* p. 604.
57. *Ibid.* p. 13.
58. *Ibid.* p. 483.

fly out, one reaches the state of sahaja.[59]" This is a state where death and time reach not. "Hold your mind in the sahaja vacuity amidst all duality, and by attaining the final state of arrest drink nectar, and there is no fear of Kāla."[60] (death or time) "In natural ease (sahaja) the mind goes beyond the reach of Time."[61] The mind is alone there and enjoys its own nature. "On seeing and hearing it (i.e. the sahaja nature) all the senses are destroyed and the mind within revels in solitude.[62]"

State of Sahaja.

The promulgators of different cults and creeds including the Sikh Gurus have invariably mentioned about the state of sahaja, though they have candidly admitted that it is beyond expression. Vocabulary and words fail to carry out the inner experience which is felt by the individual. The rules of syllogism can never define it and so the intellect or buddhi can never comprehend it in its entirety. The *Ādi Grantha*[63] mentions this state in details in these words, "He (who has attained this state) sleeps and rises in sahaja; he is silent in sahaja and speaks in sahaja; he eats and loves in sahaja; in sahaja separation is removed; he meets the saints in a sahaja way; through sahaja he meets the Lord; he lives and abides in Home in sahaja, in sahaja duality is vanished, in sahaja is joy, in sahaja he drinks the nectar nāma, in sahaja the soul is imbued with the Lord; the mind is stilled in sahaja, anahada śabda rings in sahaja,—he only enjoys the state of sahaja who knows it." It is further stated, "There

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59. *Ibid.* p. 939.
60. Kshitimohan Sen, *Dādū*, p. 383.
61. Mohan Singh, *Gorakh Nath and Medieval Mysticism*, p. 64.
62. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 109.
63. pp. 236-237.

(in the state of sahaja) is neither sea nor rain, shade or sun, creation or dissolution, life or death, pleasure or pain. There is only one śūnya state and there is no duality—such is the wonderful state of sahaja, it is beyond description.[64]" It is a state of profound light. "There is great effulgence of the Lord. There the light of the sun and moon appears insignificant. I attained this state by the grace of the Guru. Nāmadeva is wrapped in the state of sahaja.[65]" In the Siddha literature we come across similar views. "The ultimate goal is the creation of the state of sahaja which is one of great blissfulness. It is a state which is without beginning and without end, and a state free from duality. When this state is attained the object world disappears from view and all the aggregates, elements, and senses merge in it. The sādhaka then finds himself to be the sole reality identical with the universe, identical with Buddha—a being who is ever free. Every thing else dwindles into nonety."[66] Tilo pada says, "Sahaja is a state where all the thoughts construction are dead (i.e. destroyed) and the vital wind (which is the vehicle of the defiled citta) is also destroyed—the secret of this truth is to be intuited by the self—, how can it be explained (by others)."[67] The Sāhajjiyas, no doubt, use their peculiar vocabulary about sahaja. "Now, in the Sāhajjiya Buddhism śūnyatā (void) and Karuṇā (compassion), transferred as the Prajñā and the Upāya, are held to be the two primary attributes of the ultimate reality which is sahaja.[68]" In the doctrines of the Vaiṣṇava Sāhajjiya's love occupies the

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64. p. 333.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 657.

66. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV; P. C. Bagchi. *The Culture of the Buddhist Siddha Acharyas*, p. 278.

67. pp. 7-8.

68. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. xxxvi.

unique position with regard to sahaja. "The sahaja is a rasa, the supreme emotion of love, the quintessence in every body."[69] "The supreme state of the Vaiṣṇavas is not the state of absolute cessation, or annihilation–, it is a positive state, though of a super mental nature, of the eternal flow of divine love–like the smooth and incessant flow of oil.[70]" The difference in the doctrine of sahaja between the Buddhists and the Vaiṣṇavas becomes clear in these words, "The final state of Mahā Sukha as the state of sahaja of the Buddhists is also the final state of sahaja with the Vaiṣṇava Sāhajjiyas, but the Vaiṣṇavas conceived this sahaja state as the state of supreme love and this supreme love has been conceived as the primordial substance which underlies the world process as a whole. But how can this sahaja be the ultimate Reality? It is the ultimate Reality in as much as it is the non-dual state of the unity of Śiva and Śakti, which are but the two aspects of the Absolute Reality as conceived in the Hindu Tantras."[71]

But the concept of sahaja as propounded by the Santas like Dādū and Kabīra is almost similar in spirit and form with the Sikh Gurus. "When the mind becomes absorbed in sahaja, one can see without eyes, feel without body, and mutter the name of the Lord without tongue; One can hear without ears, can walk without the legs and can have consciousness without the mind, this is really the nature of self.[72]" Kabīra says, "Sahaja is beyond description. Their is neither sun nor shade, neither rain nor sea, neither beginning nor end. There is neither life, death, pain or pleasure. It is

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69. *Dvipakoj Vala*, M.S. (C.U. 564) p. 10(10).
70. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 121.
71. *Ibid.* pp. 120-121.
72. Kshitimohan Sen, *Dādū*, p. 416.

neither śūnya nor samādhi. It can not be weighed, it is neither light nor heavy, high or low. There is neither day nor night. There is no water, air, fire there."[73]

While discussing about sahaja the Gurus associate it with God in one form or the other. "In sahaja we are dyed in the colour of God.[74]" "In sahaja we have a vision of the Lord.[75]" "The gospel of the Lord is undescribable and the mystery of God is unknown, the angelic beings call it sahaja.[76]" "In the true śabda is the melody of sahaja, and the mind is attuned to the true Lord.[77]" In the Siddha literature sahaja is associated with void. "In sahaja the self is void, the world is void,—all the three worlds are void,—in pure sahaja there is neither merit nor sin.[78]" The Vaiṣṇava Sāhajjiyas show their leanings to Vaiṣṇavism and the importance of love in their teachings." In the Vaiṣṇava Sāhajjiya school the two aspects of sahaja or the absolute reality are explained as the eternal enjoyer and the enjoyed, as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and it is further held that all men and women are physically manifestations of the ontological principles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.[79]"

Sahaja is a state which is of happiness, rest and oneness. "I have become quiet, peaceful and enjoy the sahaja bliss.[80]" Blessed is the home of sahaja, there is joy, bliss and happi-

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73. *Kabīra Granthāvalī,* p. 51.
74. The *Ādi Grantha,* p. 32.
75. *Ibid.* pp. 58, 68, 503.
76. *Ibid.* p. 453.
77. *Ibid.* p. 1234.
78. *Dohā Kośa.* No. 34.
79. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults,* p. xxxvii.
80. The *Ādi Grantha,* p. 104.

ness."[81] The Sāhajjiyas also aimed at this wonderful experience." "The Sāhajjiyānī objective was not immortality in any physical sense but frankly the peaceful, blissful, radiant, changeless and hence waveless experience of sahaja which was one of the same as Mahāsukha, the great happiness."[82] Dādū also speaks the same thing." Bereft of the two is sahaja, there sorrow and joy become one, that sahaja neither dies nor lives; it is the state of complete Nirvāṇa."[83] In this state one drinks nectar and all his doubts are removed. "In the state of sahaja nectar rains.[84]" "The tongue tastes nectar and all thirsts are satiated. One lives in the love of the Lord.[85]" "All doubts have been removed.[86]" "One drinks nectar and the bonds are broken.[87]" In the state of sahaja there is joy and beautiful description of divine marriage. "My beloved has come to my Home. There are congratulations from all sides. My mates sing the song of joy and my friends and kinsmen are in bloom. The divine music rings in my ears, and I am in bed with the Lord. Now I attain the state of sahaja.[88]" "I have attained the Lord in a sahaja way. All shower their blessings. The fairies have come with their divine instruments to sing the śabda.[89]" When one goes beyond the three guṇas, one enters this state. "Sahaja is that state of soul which is above the

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81. *Ibid.* pp. 194, 888-89, 1212.
82. N. R. Ray, *The Sikh Gurus and the Society*, p. 130.
83. Kshitimohan Sen, *Dādū*, p. 382.
84. The *Ādi Grantha*, p. 119.
85. *Ibid.* p. 119.
86. *Ibid.* 205.
87. *Ibid.* p. 428.
88. *Ibid.* p. 247.
89. *Ibid.* p. 917.

three guṇas and is of wisdom.[90]" Kabīra also echos similar experience when he says, "It is that state when the five senses are under complete control. It so appears that we have the vision of the Lord."[91]

Thus from the above discussion it becomes quite clear that the concept of sahaja as experienced and mentioned by the Sikh Gurus is very comprehensive. It is a state of unity, bliss, peace, free from duality and doubt, beyond and above the three guṇas, of nearness with God, of drinking of nectar, of stillness of mind, of reaching from home to Home, of effulgence, of love, beyond life and death, heat or cold, thirst or hunger, etc. It is a state quite unique in itself and beyond expression.

Conclusion :—

We have seen from the aforesaid comparative analysis that the doctrine of sahaja since the Siddhas began to propagate it, was adopted by various leaders of religious thoughts as the only goal to be strived for. It took about five centuries of journey for this doctrine to reach the outskirts of the

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90. *Ibid.* p. 733 (In the *Ādi Grantha,* p. 1119 (Footnotes) it has been explained in these words—An individual generally behaves in the state of three guṇas. When he tries to go up and makes efforts, he is in a state or rajas, a state of activity; when he is in anger or envy, he is in a state of tamas; when he leaves the world and becomes a recluse, is above pleasure and pain, he is in a state of sattva. In the Gurumata, beyond these three states is the sahaja pada, or the turīya or the fourth state, where the Santas reach. In this state the man is not subject to the three guṇas, but the master of all these and utilises them to fulfil his obligations).

91. *Granthāvalī,* p. 42.

Santa Mata. This journey was long and sahaja had to make its way onward via several routes like the Nāthas, the Tāntrikas, the Sāhajjiyas etc. The concept of sahaja was so over-whelmingly attractive and true that the Santas imbibed its essence in their teachings. In its onward march many practices associated with it had to be abandoned and new ones adopted keeping in view the genius of the new cults. As Keshni Prasad Chaurasia says,[92] "It is quite clear that the concept of sahaja has been prevalent since ancient times. The Siddhas used it in the sense of Prajñā and Upāya and the Nāthas as Śiva–Śakti and the union of Nāda and Bindu. When sahaja reached the periphery of the Santa Mata this definition appears to have been lost. Kabīra believed that sahaja is beyond these definitions. It is the parama tattva to be achieved by the aspirant in a sahaja way. It is based on a natural and balanced life." Dharma Vir Bharti appears to be more candid. He says,[93] "The Santas were not unfamiliar with this Sahajayoga. They regarded sahaja as natural and the yogic practices were the necessary part of their sahaja sādhanā. In this sādhanā the concept of the unity of Prajñā and upāya was almost forgotten. But in the general framework of yogic practices, they styled their sādhanā as sahaja japa, sahaja dhyāna, sahaja samādhi etc. In this way the Santas viewed sahaja as a natural human endeavour, but they did not forget the traditional yogic meanings attached to it. "It is true that the Sikh Gurus practised their discipline and sādhanā in the atmosphere which was surcharged by the philosophy and methodology of sahaja, but like a swan they discovered what was non essential from their point of view. The Buddhist Tantra's view of Prajñā and Upāya; Hindu Tantra's view of the union of Śiva and

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92. *Op. cit.* pp. 530-32.
93. *Siddha Sāhitya*, p. 373.

Śakti and the view of the Nāthas i.e. Nāda and Bindu with regard to sahaja is discarded by the Sikh Gurus. But the state of sahaja as of profound bliss where there is neither death nor life as stated by them was accepted by the Sikh Masters. Moreover, in the *Ādi Grantha*, sahaja is soaked in theism while in the Siddhas' philosophy there is an atmosphere of agnostism. The view of the Sāhajjiyas of the dalliance of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the state of sahaja is avoided by the Gurus, but their spirit of mystic love is imbibed by them. The Gurus while stating their experience with regard to sahaja as a means as well as end show marked aversion to the yogic practices and their peculiar terminology. They knew that the yogic practices followed by several yogis in different parts of India had fallen into disuse and their centres had become the hot beds of corruption to which many references are available in the *Ādi Grantha*. The Gurus in their wisdom and reforming zeal had to say good bye to these unhealthy practices and placed before their hearers a simple and easy path called the sahaja path or the sahaja yoga. In this supreme endeavour the spirit of sahaja was kept intact, while its form changed in order to suit the changed circumstances. The Gurus left the beaten tracks and followed the path as shown by Santas like Kabīra, Nāmadeva, Dādū etc. while making it more smooth, broad and easily traversable. The Sikh religion was more fortunate than the cults preached by Kabīra, Dādū etc. because a galaxy of nine Masters continued the teachings of their founder i.e. Nānaka. Thus in this long history the doctrine of sahaja was preached and practised in continuity. The outside unhealthy practices which were subjected to constant ridicule could not enter the boundary of the Sikh religion. In this way the concept of sahaja maintained its original purity and sanctity which proved to be a great asset for the growth and development of the Sikh theology.

पाणिनिः पश्यतोहरः

डा० रामशरण त्रिपाठी शास्त्री

In the following paper read in a weekly seminar in the Vidyapeetha in 1975, the author discusses the words and roots connected with the various forms of the act of stealing in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He ascribes the attribute पश्यतोहर (thief/goldsmith) to Pāṇini and substantiates it by analysing his technique and by making use of puns. The article is a nice example of how a 'dry' subject like Vyākaraṇa could be made to yield material for an interesting essay.

सुवर्णसङ्घातेन लब्धेन शिवतोषतः ।
व्याकृतिं ब्रह्मरूपां यश्चक्रे वागलङ्कृतिम्[1] ॥१॥

तस्मै स्यान्नतिरत्र उपदेशान्त्याज्झलां पश्यतोहराय ।
व्याकृतिपयोधिसेतोः सूत्रस्तम्भाय भाष्यस्य ॥२॥

पाणिनीयमतेश्चौर्यप्रकाराः परिचर्चिताः ।
वैशद्येनोद्यते त्वद्य पाणिनिः पश्यतोहरः ॥३॥

कस्यापि विषयस्य तत्सम्बन्धिन्याः भाषायाश्च विकासार्थं प्रचारार्थं च सर्वत्रप्रामाणिकग्रन्थेषु विषयप्रयोजनसम्बन्धाधिकारिणामत्यावश्यकत्वं निर्दिष्टमिति विषयस्यास्य संस्कृत भाषासम्बद्धत्वेन तस्यामेव तद्विवेचनं लाभप्रदम् ।

पाणिनीयमते चौर्यप्रकारान् प्रदर्शयता अस्माकं विद्वद्बन्धुना श्री गोपराजू[2]महोदयेन विगतायां संगोष्ठ्यां कतिपयधातवो निर्दिष्टाश्चौर्यार्थकाः । इदानीन्तनः विषयोऽपि "पाणिनिः पश्यतोहरः" कथञ्चित् तत्सम्बद्ध एवेति पूर्वोक्ततद्विषयस्य प्रासङ्गिको निर्देशो नावद्यः ।

श्रीमता राजूमहोदयेन ये धातवश्चौर्यप्रकारार्थं पाणिनीयमते पूर्वं परिगणिता आसन् ते सर्वेऽपि चुर-स्तेन इति धातुद्वयार्थे एवं अन्तर्भवन्ति । यतो हि तेषु

१. आद्यन्तचरणयोः सप्तवर्णात्मिका अनुष्टुप् ।
२. विद्यापीठेऽस्मिन् शोधाधिकारी ।

F. 20

कश्चिच्चौर्यार्थकः कश्चिच्च स्तेयार्थकः। एतेनेत्थं ज्ञायते यत् चुर-स्तेन-धातू एव चौरार्थप्रदर्शनाय मौलिकौ किन्तु कतरो धातुरेतयोराद्यः इत्यत्र विनिगमनाविरहः। तृतीयाध्यायीय-सत्यापपाश·········(३।१।२५) इत्यादिसूत्रे निर्दिष्टः चुर स्तेये धातुः, तस्मिन्नेवाध्याये निर्दिष्टः स्तेन चौर्ये इति च धातुः स्वकीयार्थाभिव्यञ्जकस्तेय-चौर्य शब्दसम्बन्धेनान्योन्याश्रिताविति शृङ्गद्वयोत्पत्ताविवान्यतरस्याद्यत्वं वक्तुमशक्यम्। तथापि पाणिनीय सूत्रोदाहरणेषु यावन्ति 'चुर' धातु निष्पन्नस्य (चौरस्य) उदाहरणानि दृश्यन्ते न तावन्ति 'स्तेन' धातूत्पन्न (स्तेन) शब्दस्य। तथा हि—

१. ताच्छीलके णेऽपि (वार्त्तिकम्)····चौरी।

२. भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः (१।४।२५)····चौराद् बिभेति, चौरात् त्रायते।

३. अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति (१।४।२)····चौरान् न दिदृक्षते।

४. रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे (२।३।५४)····चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा, रोगस्य चौरज्वरः।

५. जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् (२।३।५६)····चौरयोरुज्जासनम्। चौरस्योन्नाटनम्।

६. षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे (६।३।२१)····चौरस्य कुलम्।

७. कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृञः खमुञ् (३।४।२५)····चौरङ्कारमाक्रोशति

तथा ८. ऐकागारिकट् चौरे (५।१।११३)····ऐकागारिकश्चौरः

९. ओजः सहोऽम्भसावर्तते (४।४।२७)····सहसा वर्तते साहसिकश्चौरः।

१०. परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति (४।४।३६)····पारिपन्थिकश्चौरः।

११. तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च (द्रष्टव्यः ६।१।१५७ एवं गणपाठः)····तस्करश्चौरः।

अतः एतयोरुभयोर्वार्त्तयोरपि चुरधातोर्महत्त्वमधिकं प्रतीयते।

चुर-स्तेन धात्वर्थ सम्बद्ध एव अद्यतनः परिचर्चा विषयः "पाणिनिः पश्यतोहरः"। अत्रत्यो हि 'पश्यतोहर'-शब्दः पश्यन्तमपिजनमनादृत्य हरतीति व्युत्पत्त्या निष्पन्नः सामान्यतश्चौरवाचकोऽपि विशेषेण 'सुवर्णकारा'परपर्यायः'। यश्च "वाग्दिक्पश्यद्भ्यो युक्तिदण्डहरेषु" इतिवार्त्तिकेन षष्ठ्या अलुका निष्पद्यते। सुवर्णकारशब्दश्च सुवर्ण (सुवर्णान् वा) करोतीतिविग्रहेण "कर्मण्यण्" (३।२।१) इत्यणा निष्पद्यते। इत्थञ्च सुवर्णकारः पाणिनिः पश्यतोहरः इत्युभयं सिध्यति।

पाणिनेः सुवर्णकारत्वञ्च नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजेन नवपञ्चवारान् नादितायाः ढक्कायाः अव्यक्तध्वनेः अ इ उ ण् इत्यादि चतुर्दश सूत्रवर्णग्राहकत्वेन वर्तते। अत एव—

येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

इति वैयाकरणेषु प्रसिद्धम् ।

इदमत्राकूतम्—सुवर्णकारो हि पश्यतोहरः । स च पश्यन्तमपि जनमनादृत्य सुवर्णादिकमपहरति । कमप्यलङ्कारं सर्वथाभावेन परिवर्त्य अलङ्कारान्तरतां नयति । कञ्चिच्च यत्किञ्चित्संयोगवियोगादिना आंशिकरूपेण परिवर्तयति । पाणिनेरेतत्पश्य-तोहरत्वम् 'मनिन्' 'क्वनिप्' 'क्विप्' इत्यादि प्रत्ययेषु 'हलन्त्यम्' (१।३।३) 'वेरपृक्तस्य' (६।१।६७) 'अस्तेर्भूः' (२।४।५२) इत्यादिना तथा 'लशक्वतद्धिते' (१।३।८), 'चुटू' (१।३।७), 'षः प्रत्ययस्य' (१।३।६) इत्यादौ तत्तत्सूत्रैरित्संज्ञापूर्वकं 'तस्यलोप' (१।३।९) इति सुवर्णलोपेन सिध्यति ।

वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।
धातोस्तदर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

भवेद् वर्णागमाद् हंसः सिंहो वर्णविपर्ययात् ।
गूढोत्मा वर्णविकृतेर्वर्णनाशात् पृषोदरम् ॥

पृषोदरादिष्वभीष्टम् एतत्सर्वं पूर्वोक्तस्यैव गमकम् । किञ्च—अलङ्कृतिं निर्मित्सुः सुवर्णकारो यथा कस्माच्चिज्जनात् समुपात्तस्य सुवर्णस्य कञ्चिदशं 'टाँका' रूपेण व्यवच्छिनत्ति तथैव पाणिनिरपि माहेश्वरसूत्राणां सुवर्णानां प्रत्याहारहारान् निर्मित्सुः 'हलन्त्यम्' (१।३।३) 'उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्' (१।३।२) इति सूत्रद्वयीमुक्त्वा 'तस्यलोपः' (१।३।९) इत्यादिना दृश्यमानस्यापि सुवर्णस्य (=शोभनवर्णस्य) व्यवच्छेदं करोति, अनेकान् शास्त्रोपयुक्तप्रत्याहारहारांश्च निर्मिमीते ।

किन्तु न यथा सर्वत्रैव स सुवर्णकाररूपः पश्यतोहरः सुवर्णभागमपहरत्येव अपि तु क्वचिदावश्यकतानुसारं सुवर्णरजताद्यलङ्कारभागान् पदार्थभागान् वा संयुनक्ति क्वचिच्च वियुनक्ति एवमेव पाणिनिरपि सुध्युपास्यः, हरये, उपेन्द्र, उपैति, दैत्यारिः इत्यादिषु सुवर्णान् संयुनक्ति; हरी-एतौ, ब्रह्म-ऋषिः, विष्णू-इमौ, पचेते-इमौ इत्यादिषु च वियुनक्ति ।

एवमग्रेऽपि यथा विभिन्नान्नव्यञ्जनमिश्रणेन मरीचिशर्करादिपेयविशिष्टत्वाद् अन्यदेव एकं व्यञ्जनं निष्पद्यते; यथा वा अन्यान्यधातुमिश्रणेन विशिष्ट एव एकोऽन्यो धातुरुत्पाद्यते सुवर्णकारेण, तथैव "तद्धविः" "वाग्घरि"—रित्यादौ वर्गीयतार्तीयीकाक्षरैः सह हकारस्य मिश्रणेन चतुर्थव्यञ्जनोत्पत्तिः । 'सञ्छम्भुः', 'शार्ङ्गिञ्छिन्धि', 'चक्रिंस्त्रायस्व' इत्यादीन्यप्यस्यैवोदाहरणानि । एवमग्रेऽपि यथास्थानं सन्धिसंयोगव्यञ्जनपरिवर्तना-दिना वागलङ्कृतिभूतानां शब्दानां ललनालङ्कृतीनां च निर्मात्रोः कार्यैकत्वम् ।

इत्थञ्च दृश्यमाना अपि शब्दा प्रक्रियाबलेन रामः रामावित्यादौ भवति भवतः इत्यादौ च वचनाद्यनुसारं परिवर्त्यन्ते, क्वचिच्च परिवर्द्धयन्ते अन्यत्र संङ्कुचीक्रियन्ते । अस्तेर्भूरित्यादौ च सर्वथा अन्यीक्रियन्ते । एवं सुवर्णकारेण (पश्यतोहरेण) अपि अन्यथा दृश्यमाना अप्यलंकाराः अन्यतः अन्यीक्रियन्ते ।

अस्य च चौर्यक्रियाकलापस्य चत्वारः प्रकाराः

(१) चौर्यम् अपहरणम् वा (२) स्तेयकरणम् (३) तस्करत्वम् (४) लुण्टाकत्वञ्च । सर्वे चेमे प्रकाराः सामान्यतः—साक्षात् परम्परया वा—काव्यादौ चौर्यवृत्त्यर्थमेवाश्रिताः सर्वत्र चेहदृश्यमानस्य अदर्शनं क्रियते; अदर्शनं च लोपः । इत्थञ्च क्वचित् क्विप्-क्विन्नित्यादौ सर्वापहारिलोपेन सर्वस्वापहरणरूपं चौर्यम् । क्वचिच्च मनिन् क्वनिबित्यादौ इव आंशिकरूपेण स्तेयकरणम् । इतरत्र "तस्कर" इत्यादौ दकारस्य तस्करत्वम्; अन्यत्र बृहस्पतिरित्यादौ च तकारस्यैव लुण्टाकत्वम् इति पूर्वोक्तप्रकारचतुष्टयविशिष्टत्वात् पाणिनेः पश्यतोहरत्वं सर्वथा अनवद्यम् ।

तत्र चुर-स्तेन धात्वोरुभयोरपि तृतीयाध्यायगत्वे (चौरादिकत्वे)ऽपि 'चुर स्तेये' इति धातुपाठे 'स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च' इत्यनेन स्तेन शब्दान्निष्पन्नस्य स्तेयशब्दस्य वर्तमानात् चौर्यस्तेययोः कतरः प्रकारः आदिम इत्यत्र न द्रढीयो गमकम् । तस्करत्वलुण्टाकत्वयोश्च परकालीनत्वम् 'तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट्तलोपश्च' तथा 'जल्पभिक्षकुट्टलुण्टवृङः षाकन् (३।२।१५५) इत्यष्टाध्यायीप्रमाणेन सिध्यति ।

अतश्चोपर्युक्तानुवादरूपेण पाणिनेः पश्यतोहरत्वप्रदर्शनपूर्वकः इत्थमुपसंहारः—

पाणिनिरूपः पश्यतोहरः ऐकागारिकः । तस्य स्त्री चौरी । तस्य चांशहरः (हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच्) कुमारः । स च कवचहरोऽपि (षोडशवर्षकल्पः; वयसि च) स्तेयं करोति, तन्त्रकं (तन्त्रादचिरापहृते) च पटं परिधत्ते । अतीव च स साहसिकः पारिपन्थिकः सन् न कस्याप्यग्रे दीनवचनजल्पाकः अपितु पान्थजनशक्तिसम्पत्ति लुण्टाको वर्तते ।

एतेन पाणिनिरूपपश्यतोहरस्य परिवारस्यापि यत्किञ्चित् परिचयः प्रत्तः सञ्जायते । मन्ये, रोचकशैल्या अभिव्यक्तीकृता एषा परिचितिर्विद्वत्प्रकाण्डहर्य्यक्षाणां भवादृक्षाणां पाणिनीयप्रियाणां हृदयतस्तथाकथितशुष्कव्याकृतिविषयप्रतिपादन जन्यनीरसतां निराकरिष्णुः, सातिशयप्रमोदप्रजनिष्णुर्भविष्यतीति ।

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रघुदेवमिश्रकृता विरुदावली

डॉ० जगन्नाथ पाठकः

सम्राट्शाहजिहानप्रदत्त 'बुद्धि-सरस्वती' विरुदालङ्कृतस्य मिथिलाजनपद-समुत्पन्नस्य हरिताम्रकुलसम्भवस्य श्रीरघुदेवमिश्रस्य विरुदावल्या मैथिलज्ञोपाख्य-पण्डितचक्रधरशर्म-विरचित 'विबुधराजिरञ्जिनी' त्याख्यविवृत्या सह प्रकाशनं वाराणसीतः १९६० वैक्रमाब्द एव समभूत् । प्रस्तुतमिदं संस्करणं तदाश्रितमपि प्रयागस्थ-हिन्दीसाहित्यसम्मेलनस्य सङ्ग्रहालये प्राप्तपाण्डुलिपितः संगृहीतपाठान्तरादिसंवलितं सुधियां समक्षमवतिष्ठते ।

सम्मेलनस्थपाण्डुलिपेः संख्या १४९१/९२९ वर्तते । तथा च पाण्डुलिपिरियं देवनागरीलिपिनिबद्धा स्पष्टाक्षराऽष्टादशपत्रपरिमिता चास्ति । तत्र पुष्पिका वर्तते— "इतिश्रीमैथिलरघुदेवमिश्रकविपण्डितेन्द्रविरचिता विरुदावली समाप्ता । श्रीराधामाधव-चरणारविन्दद्वन्द्वं भजे ।" लिपिकालनिर्देशो नास्ति ।

अस्यैव श्रीरघुदेवमिश्रस्याग्रजेन श्रीहरिदेवमिश्रेण निर्मिता 'जहाँगीर-विरुदावली' प्रथमवारमस्माभिः सम्पाद्य विद्यापीठीयपत्रिकायां प्राकाश्यं नीता । सा च भूमिका-संवलिता स्वतन्त्रतया प्रकाशिता विद्यापीठेऽस्मिन्नुपलब्धुं शक्यते । तस्या एव भूमिकायां रघुदेवमिश्रविषयेऽपि ज्ञातव्यं निर्दिष्टमस्ति ।

प्रस्तुतेयं विरुदावली कमिव नरपतिं विषयीकरोतीति न क्वापि कविना निर्दिष्टम् । काव्यगतमेकमपि विशेषणं नास्ति येन कश्चन विशिष्टो नरपतिः स्तव्यतया प्रतिपत्तव्यो भवेत् । किन्तु यथा श्रीचक्रधरशर्मभिः स्वलिखितभूमिकायां मिथिलाजनपदे प्रचलिता किंवदन्ती निर्दिष्टा, यथा च परमेश्वरझामहाशयैर्मिथिलातत्त्वविमर्शनाम्नि ग्रन्थे निर्दिष्टम्, यथा च पारसीकभाषायां लिखितात् 'शाहजहाँनामा' इत्याख्यग्रन्थतोऽवगम्यते विरुदावल्या अस्याः विषयीभूतो नायकः मुगलसम्राट् शाहजिहानः (शासनकालः १६२४-१६५८ ख्री०) एव स्यादिति ।

श्रीरघुदेवमिश्रस्य स्थितिकालः १५४० तः १६५० यावत् ख्रीस्तीयाब्दमध्यवर्तीत्यनुमातुं शक्यम् । सम्राजः शाहजिहानस्याश्रितः पण्डितराजजगन्नाथोऽस्य समसामयिक आसीत् । तेन सहैव रघुदेवोऽपि राजसभायामन्वतिष्ठदिति मिथिलायां प्रचलितया किंवदन्त्या (जहाँगीर-विरुदावल्या भूमिकायामुद्धृतया) विदितं भवति । १६३८ ख्रीस्तीयाब्देऽग्रजेन सह रघुदेवः सम्राजः सभायामुपस्थित इति पारसीकभाषायां लिखितात् 'शाहजहाँनामा' नाम्नो ग्रन्थादवगम्यते । यथा पण्डितराजजगन्नाथेन

'पण्डितेन्द्र' इति 'पण्डितनरेन्द्र' इत्यात्मा निर्दिष्टस्तथैव सम्मेलनपाण्डुलिपिरपि श्रीरघुदेवं 'कविपण्डितेन्द्र' इति निर्दिशति ।

संस्कृतसाहित्यकारेषु विरुदावलीगानस्य प्रवृत्तिर्मुगलकाले विशेषेण प्रथितचराऽऽसीत् । पण्डितराजजगन्नाथस्य प्राणाभरणं नाम काव्यं विरुदावलीगानरूपमेव । तेन लिखितस्यैकस्य पद्यस्यायमशोऽप्यवलोकनीयः —

नदन्ति मददन्तिनः परिलसन्ति वाजिव्रजाः
पठन्ति विरुदावलीमहितमन्दिरे वन्दिनः ।

प्राणा० १९

हरिदेवस्य रघुदेवस्य च विरुदावल्योरनुसन्धित्सुभिः क्रियमाणं तुलनात्मकमध्ययनमपेक्ष्यते ।

कृष्णदत्ताख्येन केनचिद् विदुषा काश्यां निवसता रघुदेवकृतविरुदावल्या व्याख्या कृता । व्याख्यारम्भे पद्यद्वयमिदमस्ति—

प्रणम्य विश्वेश्वरमन्नपूर्णां ढुंण्ढि हरिं भैरवदण्डपाणी ।
काश्यामहं श्रीरघुदेवमिश्रसूक्तेः पदानि प्रकटीकरोमि ।।
अस्मत्प्रणीतेन पथाऽमुनेह सुदुःप्रवेशे विरुदप्रबन्धे ।
अन्तः प्रविश्याकलयन्तु सन्तः सरस्वतीकोश इवार्थजातम् ।।

व्याख्याया अस्या अपि पाण्डुलिपिः प्रयागस्थहिन्दी - साहित्य-सम्मेलनस्य संग्रहालये वर्तते (९२९/१४९१) । अयं हि कृष्णदत्तो जानराजचम्पू-कुवलयाश्वीयकारात् कृष्णदत्ताद् भिन्नोऽभिन्नो वेति डॉ० काशीप्रसादजायसवालमहाशयेन संशयः प्रकटीकृतः स्वकीयस्य मिथिलायां प्राप्तपाण्डुलिपिसूचीग्रन्थस्य द्वितीये भागे ।

किञ्चिद्विस्तरेण जिज्ञासुभिर्जहाँगीरविरुदावल्या 'विद्यापीठेन' प्रकाशिताया भूमिकाऽवलोकनीया ।

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रघुदेवमिश्र-विरचिता
विरुदावली

[१]

कलकङ्कणलम्बितचन्दनचुम्बितचारुचतुर्भुजभीमबले
हिमशैलशिखण्डिनि वैरिविखण्डिनि कुण्डलमण्डितगण्डतले ।
दलदञ्जनगञ्जिनि भवभयभञ्जिनि मञ्जुलमणिमयमुकुटवरे
पञ्चाननचारिणि शशधरधारिणि जय जय जननि जयन्ति परे ॥

[२]

त्वद्यानोद्यमहृद्यनर्दितहयोद्रिक्ताद्रिधातुद्रवे
दर्पान्धद्विरदान्धकारिणि भवे सन्ध्यानुसन्धायिनः ।
पिण्डीकृत्य दिशो दशोदितयशोहिण्डीर हे वीर ते
चण्डीभर्तुरकाण्डताण्डवविधिः खण्डीकरोतु द्विषः ॥

[३]

जय घनचारुचिकुर[1]चपलारुचिचम्पक
सुमुकुट वैर[2]वलितनवकैरवकम्पक ।
गुणगणशालिकनकसदृशालिकरोचन
मृदुकुरुविन्दविदलदरविन्दविलोचन ॥
कमलविगानकुशलसुभगाननमण्डल
विमलकपोलयुगलकृतदोलनकुण्डल ।
समुदितघोण तरणिकरशोणतराधर
ललितरदालिदलितवरदालिम[3]कादर ॥
मदकलहंसवचन बृहदंसवसुन्धर
हृदुपमतुङ्गबलवदतिपुङ्गवकन्धर ।
गलतलकम्बुजनितचलदम्बुजडम्बर
वलयितहारविततबहुतारहृदम्बर ॥

'श्रीगणेशाय नमः । कृष्णाय नमः' इति लिखित्वा लिपिकर्त्राऽऽरम्भः कृतः ।
१. °रुचिर° । २. वैरि° । ३. °दाडिम° ।

पृथुभुजतालतरलकरवालविलेशय
मणिसरहेलिमिलितकरकेलिकुशेशय ।
नखरमयूखमुषितकरभूषण कामद
भृशकृशतुन्दशमितहरिसुन्दरतामद ॥
त्रिवलितरङ्गमदनमणिभङ्गमनोहर
जगद[1]विलोमवलितलिपिलोमलतोदर ।
त्रिगुणविहीन जघनघनचीनचयावृत
करिकरभानुकरणकरजानुविराजित ॥
समतमजङ्घ गमनगजसंहतिलङ्घन
पदभयभीरुसरससरसीरुह नन्दन ।
भवदवसन्नतरुणरिपुसन्नतसन्नख
लसदशरीरविधुर वरवीर विकलमष ॥
कान्तकलिका

[४]

पृथ्वीपाल प्रयाति प्रभवति भवति भ्रष्टकोटीरहीराः
काश्मीराभीरवीरा वनभुवि बहुशो बद्धचीरा विशन्ति ।
युष्मत्कोदण्डचण्डध्वनिरिति परितो वीतभद्रा न मद्रा
निद्रायन्ते दिगन्तेष्वपि मुदिरगुरुध्वानरुद्धाननेषु ॥
शूरश्लोकः

[५]

जय जय हीनप्रमुदितदीन क्षितिधरलीन-
स्वचकितचीन स्फुरितनवीनध्वनिजितवीण ।
प्रतिहतमीनध्वज गुरुकुलीन प्रसरदहीन-
प्रतिभटपीनद्युतिभुज वीणप्रखरधुरीण ॥
वीरविरुदम्

[६]

जय बलदेवालम्बितबलवल देवालं
कृतकुमुदेवालङ्कृतसुस्मित विस्मित ।
परनरदेवाराधितबहुविधसेवासाधित
सुरपतिरेवासि प्रियपण्डितमण्डित ॥

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१. जगदनु° ।

[७]

जय जय मेदिनीकामिनीकर्णाभरण कर्णाटलाटचार्वाट-[1]
चेदिचीनचोलचम्पादिचतुस्समुद्रान्तचक्रवर्तिचक्रचूडा-
मणिचुञ्चुचञ्चलचिकुरचञ्चुरचञ्चरीकसञ्चय-
सञ्चारचारुचरणारविन्द मुखचन्द्रचन्द्रिकाञ्चन-
चलितचकोरलोचनाचित्तचन्द्रकान्त कान्त ॥

[८]

अहितशरीरप्रणिहितचीर प्रचुरपटीरच्छुरितकुटीर ।
स्फुटकरवीरद्युतिकर वीरक्षितिपतिहीर प्रकृतिगभीर ॥
कान्तकलिका

[९]

पृथ्वीजाने प्रयाणे तव पणवघनानर्घ्य[2]निर्घोषदोषा-
दुज्झन् हिण्डीरपिण्डीं दिशि विदिशि लुठल्लोलकल्लोलबाहुः ।
सद्यः संत्रस्तवेलातलनृपतिशतोपाहृतोपान्तरत्न-
व्रातो जातो नु जाने वसुविगमशुचा वातकी वारिराशिः ॥

[१०]

भिल्लीपल्लीपरिगतरिपुगण मल्लीवल्लीसुरभितपरिजन ।
भल्लीहल्लीसकशतकृतयमचिल्लीसल्ली[3]लक सुरतरु[4]सम ॥
वीरविरुदम्

[११]

पारोदकतटपारोदितविटपारोहितभट शोचनमोचन ।
धारोपमवसुधारोहित वसुधारोहणक सुलोचन रोचन ॥
हारोदितपर हारोदितपर हारोपितशरशिञ्जनसञ्जन ।
तारोदयनवतारोदयदवतारो भयलवभञ्जन रञ्जन ॥
मारोपमसुकुमारोपम सुकुमारो जय जय संयति चञ्चति ।
चारोपचितविचारोऽसुहृदभिचारो भवसि न कम्प्रति सम्प्रति ॥
चारो जगदुपचारोचितसुवचा रोचितजन दायकनायक ।
सारोपनतमसारो घनतमसारो रिपुगणशायकसायक ॥

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१. कार्णाटचार्वाट° । २. °नर्घ° । ३. °भिल्ली° । ४. सुरतनु° ।

F. 21

द्वारोपलसदुदारोपलमृदुदारो गुरुयदुनन्दनवन्दन ।
नारोचनघनसारोऽव न मनसा रोपण घनचन्दननन्दन ॥
व्यालोलितमहिपालोऽहितशिशुपालोपचरणपण्डितमण्डित ।
तालोपमितसुतालो जलधिसुतालोकित खलखण्डितचण्डित ॥
कालोपमकरवालो विमलप्रवालोपसरदशर्मद शर्मद ।
भालोदितमणिभालोभित[1]सुसभालोलुपनृप निर्मद नर्मद ॥
मालोपसृत तमालोपमतलमालो मलयजशीलकशीलक ।
सालोपहितरसालोपवन रसालोक विपुलकीलककीलक ॥
जालोदरसुखजालोदय सुभुजालोचन धृतिभावुकभावक[2] ।
नालोचकगलनालो मृदितमृणालो मृदुरिति शावकपावक ॥
मालोदितसुविशालो[3]मसुदृशालोचितचरणाभरणाकर ।
कालोहिरिव करालो भवसि करालोलित[3]नरनाथ रणादर ॥
कान्तकलिका

[१२]

क्षोभक्षीणारिकीनाशक सकलमहीनाथ मीनाङ्करीणा-
धीनादीनानिलीना इव सुखसरिति स्वेदसम्भिन्नवीनाः ।
वीणाविन्यासपीनायतजघनतटोद्गानतानप्रवीणाः
स्वर्ग्रामीणा नवीना मदगजगमनास्त्वद्गुणानुद्गृणन्ति ॥
सूरश्लोकः

[१३]

रिपुरुण्डचयमुण्डमयखण्डहुतिकुण्ड जगदण्डततखण्डखल-
दण्डपटुवण्ड भुजदण्डभरपण्ड[4]पर चण्डतरतुण्डगजगण्डयुग-
मण्डलविखण्डन[5]वितण्ड सशिखण्डशशिखण्डततमण्डपतरण्ड ॥
वीरविरुदम्

[१४]

जय जय जगदेकरक्षासदृक्षातिवक्षा यदृच्छाजिशिक्षासुदक्षासितक्षाहृतक्षामरक्षा ऋभुक्षा इव क्षात्रकक्षाविलक्षारिपक्षालिकक्षालितक्षारित[6]क्ष्मातलः ।

पिशुनपशुविनाशदीक्षाविचक्षणकक्षानल क्षाय[7]भिक्षाविवक्षानपेक्षातिलक्षाभि-मोक्षार्दितक्षारुक्षान्ययक्षादिरक्षान्तपक्षान्तसोच्छ्रायदाक्षायणीदक्षिणः ।

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१. °लोदित° । २. °भावकपावक । ३. °लोचित° । ४. °भण्ड° । ५. °विखण्डल° । २. °च्छालित° । ७. °च्छाय° ।

क्षणमपि न विशङ्कयक्षो यियक्षो युयुक्षो तदक्षोलवृक्षोदकक्षोदकक्षोरुकक्षोर्विभक्षोप[1]दक्षोऽसदृक्षो दिदृक्षोपगक्षोणिपक्षोन्नतक्षोणिभृच्छोकविक्षेपकः ।

करिकरकदलीसपक्षोरुकक्षोरुवक्षोरुडक्षोऽन्तरिक्षोत्थवृक्षो[2]ऽसि भिक्षोर्जिघृक्षोर्दिधिक्षोस्तरक्षोरपि क्षोभदक्षो दुरीक्षो मृदुक्षौमगुच्छो रिपुक्षोदिकौक्षेयकः ।

जय जय गिरिधातुमुद्रामिलद्रागभद्राति[3]भद्रापतद्रामजिद्राम भद्राय निद्रादरिद्राक्ष विद्राजिसद्राय[4]मुद्राशुगद्रागतिद्राघिमद्राववित्द्रावितद्राविलः ।

स्फुटमसि करुणासमुद्रो निरुद्रो विनिद्रोपलद्रोऽसकृद्रोचन[5] द्रोणजद्रोणसद्रोप[6]मद्रोपमद्रोहिहृद्रोगकृद्रोपरुद्रो गुणद्रो भवद्रोकचिद्रोम नोद्रोहतु[7] ।

विचिकिलचयच[8]ञ्चदुद्यानमुद्यानदद्यान[9]वद्यान पद्यादिगद्यादृत[10] द्यारिमुद्यासिमद्या विमृद्याजिमद्यापि सद्यावनद्याभपद्यावदुद्यातविद्याधराद्यार्चित ।

त्वमिव जगति कोऽनवद्योरुहृद्योऽसुहृद्योषिदुद्योतकृद्योगभिद्यो[11]ऽयमुद्योगविद्यो निरुद्योऽनिषद्योदरद्योतिमद्योऽसमद्योततलद्योतविद्योडुवद्योघचञ्चद्यशाः ।

त्यजति तव तुरङ्गकङ्काङ्घ्रिटङ्कातिटङ्कारशङ्काकरं कातलं[12] कादलङ्कारझङ्कारकं काकरङ्काभरङ्काचिरं कालकङ्कालसङ्काशलङ्काभृदङ्काधिरूढा वधूः ।

तव कलयति नो त्रिपङ्कोऽपि रङ्को निरङ्कोऽतिशङ्को निशं कोऽतिशङ्को दृशां कोणसङ्कोचिरङ्को शशाङ्कोदयं कोविदं कोटिदं कोमलं कोपन कोपपङ्कोद्भवाभ मुखम् ।

जय जय जितकोरविन्दारविन्दास्य विन्दानुविन्दाभ विन्दामलं दारकं दारुवृन्दारवन्द्याहितं दाम मन्दारकुन्दालि[13]सन्दालितं दापयन् ।

भवति सति हतारिविन्दोऽचिरं दोरमन्दोरुहिन्दोलवृन्दोढमन्दोऽयमिन्द्रोऽपि सन्दोग्धि निन्दोचितं दोपमिन्दोरलं दोह[14]सन्दोहकन्दोच्चकीर्तिद्युतेः[15] ।

विलसति शमयन् शरव्यान् मृगव्यानुगव्याधनव्यानलव्यानटव्यामटव्याभिपव्याखिलव्यावि[16]सव्यापसव्याशुगव्यापृतिव्याकुलव्यालभव्याधिकव्यायतस्ते भुजः ।

परकमलतुषारपव्योऽसि गव्योढहव्योऽतिकव्योऽवितव्योरुकव्योघ दिव्योदयव्योषधिव्योपनव्योटितव्यो[17]पजीव्यो जितव्योमजव्योघरव्योष[18]सेव्योऽपसव्यो भवान् ।

खरतरशरसंघात[19]सम्पातशम्पासकम्पा भृशं पाकलम्पाकचम्पा सुझम्पानुझम्पानुकम्पाकरं पालिपम्पावनं पावनं पारगं पादपम्पादसम्पातसम्पादितातिभ्रमिः ।

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१. °र्विभुच्छो° । २. °कक्षो° । ३. °तद्राति° । ४. °मद्राम° ।
५. °महृद्रोचन° । ६. °मद्रोप° । ७. नोद्रोहहेतु । ८. °किलचञ्च° ।
९. °मुद्यानवद्यान । १०. °हृत । ११. °गमुद्यो° । १२. करंकादलं° ।
१३. °कुन्दादि° । १४. द्रोह° । १५. °द्युते । १६. °व्यापितव्यापि° ।
१७. °व्योचितव्यो° । १८. °योप उव्योंऽप° । १९. °जात° ।

भवति चलति शत्रुशम्बाभ किं वाऽधिकं बाधितं वाच्यमम्बानितम्बावलम्बाद्-
विलम्बावहं वारिसंवाह्यलम्बालकं बालकं वालिशं वाटजम्बालसंबाधविम्बाधरं धावति ॥
कान्तकलिका

[१५]

अक्षीणक्षणदाकरानन रणक्षेत्रक्षणंकक्षत-
क्षत्रक्षोणिजलक्षलक्षलुठनक्षामोऽसि चक्षुःश्रवाः ।
पीत्वाऽपि क्षतजान्यरिक्षितिपतिक्षीरक्षमेभक्षरद्-
दानं दिक्षु विदिक्षु सक्षुध इव क्षिप्रं तवाचामति ॥
शूरश्लोकः

[१६]

जय हिमधामप्रभरतिधामस्वयुवतिभामक्षितिपर
कामप्रतिम ललामद्युतिमयदाम प्रतिरथनाम
प्रमथनराम द्विषदभिरामद्विरदविराम ॥
वीरविरुदम्

[१७]

दम्भारम्भामितबलसम्भारं भाधिकबल[1]-
जृम्भासम्भावितललनाजनभाजन ।
रम्भास्तम्भाहिततुल[2]रम्भालम्भादरिकुल-
सम्भारं भावय कनकासनभासन ॥
रन्ता दन्तावलकुल[3]दन्ताहन्ता नतजनचिन्ता-
चिन्तामणिरसिमण्डलदण्डल ।
यन्ता मन्तावपि हरिदन्तागन्ता हतकरि-
कुन्तासन्तालित चलकुण्डलमण्डल ॥
भङ्गासङ्गाकुलतरवङ्गानङ्गाहितपर
गङ्गा[4]सङ्गाहनपर बन्धुरकन्धर ।
रङ्गादङ्गानुपतित[5]भृङ्गायं गामव हत-
तुङ्गारि गारुडमणिसुन्दरमन्दिर ॥
स्कन्धाबन्धादधिरण[6]सिन्धावन्धा-

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१. °रण° । २. °तल° । ३. °गण° । ४. सङ्गा° । ५. °दनुकृत° ।
६. °दतिरण° ।

विव चण[1]सन्धानं धारितगुण तारणकारण ।
गन्धादन्धा[2]पतदलिविन्ध्याबन्ध्याहृतकलि-
सन्धासन्धावितवरवारणदारण ॥
शिञ्जाशिञ्जाहितभयगुञ्जापुञ्जावृतिमय-
कुञ्जालञ्जागरितमहानसिमानसि ।
कञ्जा[3]खञ्जामलदलसञ्जातं जालक-
विवरं जारं जामिभिरभि[4]विन्दसि निन्दसि ॥
किञ्चायं चामरयुगमञ्चामुञ्चाभरण-
गणं चापं चापलशर गर्भय निर्भय ।
पञ्चालं चारणकृतसञ्चारं चासुवलित-
चञ्चामञ्चायितमिह कल्पय कल्पय ॥

कान्तकलिका

[१८]

नृत्यन्ती नवमल्लिवल्लिसुमनोदामा[5]भिरामाकृति-
स्त्वत्कीर्तिर्भ्रमणीशतानि धरणीचक्रेश चक्रे मुहुः ।
तस्या एव चिरं चरन्ति चरणव्यापारचिह्नोच्चया-
श्चण्डीशाचलचन्द्रचन्दनवनीमन्दाकिनीविभ्रमम् ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[१९]

भङ्गदूनबङ्गहूण रङ्गलूनचङ्गसूनदामतल्प कामकल्प नाम जल्पतामनल्पकक्ष देववृक्ष[6] एव लक्ष्यसे[7]ऽत्रलक्षसेव गण्डपालिमण्डितालिगन्धशालिसिन्धुरालिकुम्भदेश-दम्भलेशगञ्ज केशमञ्जुवेश ॥

वीरविरुदम्

[२०]

चतुरङ्गतुरङ्गतुरङ्गमसङ्गमचाङ्गिमभङ्गिमदङ्गमये कृतबङ्गजये ।
मदसिन्धुरसिन्धुरबन्धुरबन्धुरणैकधुरन्धरकन्धर ए गजबन्धनये ॥
परकुञ्जरकुम्भतटस्फुटन[8]स्फुटरत्नविभूषितभूदयिते सुखसंवलिते ।
परिपन्थिनरेशनितम्बिनिकेशनिवेशनपेशलशोणकरेऽतुलतोणधरे ॥

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१. तल° । २. °नन्धा° । ३. कञ्जारख° । ४. °जामितिरति° । ५. °माला° । ६. °कक्ष । ७. लक्षसे । ८. °त्रुटन° ।

परिभूतकुलूतकलत्रकलापविलापविलापकचापघने ललितापघने ।
शिशिरोपमरोपभरोदय[1]भिन्नविरोधिशिरोधिसरोजवने समरोढगुणे ॥
धरणीभृदनीचमणीचयवीचिमरीचिझरीचितचारुनखे सुररा[2]जसखे ।
गलदुज्ज्वलहारतुषारसुधारसुधारसधामसनाभिमुखे सुजनाभिमुखे ॥
करभोरुकपोलविलोलविलोचनलोचक[3]लोपकलोपगते सकलोपनते ।
परिफुल्लपयोजपयोजपयोधिपयोधिकशोभियशोऽधिगते जितयोधिशते ॥
मृदुकेतकपर्णसुवर्णसुवर्णभवन्नवकर्णवतंसकले सततं सबले ।
रसमूढसमूढचमूभिरमूलितधूलिदुकूलितदिङ्महिले विनयग्रहिले ॥
मदकुम्भिकदम्बसदम्बुदलम्बनलम्भितसम्भ्रमजम्भरिपो सुललाटलिपो ।
हतलक्षविपक्षनृपक्षतजोदकसेकसशोभयशोलतिके जगदभ्यधिके ॥
रणमण्डलपण्डनृकुण्डलमण्डलतुण्डविखण्डनचण्डगजे जितशुण्डभुजे ।
त्वयि देव दरिद्रसुरद्रुम भद्र समुद्रसमुद्रमहीमहिते कमला रमते ॥

कान्तकलिका

[२१]

प्रस्थाने तव वाजिराजिचरणक्षेपक्षणक्षोभित-
क्षोणिक्षोदकृतक्षपे समुदितक्षत्रक्षयप्रत्ययाः ।
वारं वारमुदारवारणघटागण्डस्थलप्रोच्चल[4]-
न्मत्तालिध्वनितालिका विदधते हृष्टा इवाष्टौ दिशः ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[२२]

बालाहित करवालाहितकर मालासित सुख[5] मालासितसुख[6]
भालालकतमभालालकतम हालापनरसहालापनरस ॥

वीरविरुदम्

[२३]

त्वं गाधिजमति बङ्गाधिपततिभङ्गाकुलमतिरङ्गावनिपतिसङ्गापितबल भृङ्गा-
कुलितलवङ्गालय चतुरङ्गातिवलतुरङ्गाभिहतपतङ्गायितसुपतङ्गाकलय सुखं गामधिक-
मुरङ्गाधरमणिरङ्गावजितनिरङ्गादिमद भुजङ्गायतभुज गङ्गासुतरणरङ्गाधिकचण
गङ्गातरलतरङ्गाहतिरतसङ्गादित[7]हर गङ्गाधरधरशृङ्गादपि शतशृङ्गादपि वत

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१. °रोपमरोपभरोदय° । २. सुखरा° । ३. °रोचक° । ४. °प्रोच्छल° ।
५. मुख । ६. °मुख । ७. °हित° ।

तुङ्गातिमदमतङ्गालिमयमृदङ्गारवनटदङ्गाहितभट रिङ्गारिकुल[1]कुरङ्गातप बहुलं गाढभयकलिङ्गाधिपबकसङ्गामकरणलिङ्गापहरण चङ्गाकृतिरतरङ्गालस हतश्रृङ्गाखिलखलश्रृङ्गारितदल श्रृङ्गायित[2]धनुरङ्गारकतनुरङ्गारसमनिषङ्गासितरणिसङ्गातु[3]रसुपिसङ्गाहितकपिसङ्गाहितशरभङ्गाश्रम परमं गारुडशिलभृङ्गारमुजल पङ्गावपि सपडङ्गाहित मुखपिङ्गाभरण विहङ्गाभरणविभङ्गारभस मुजं गाहितविभुटङ्गा[4]भिहतपरं गालवतपसं गायनमुखदं गात्रजमुपमं गालितविपदङ्गाधिकमुपदं गाहितसबलं ग्रामितभुवनं गापय निजमङ्गाहृतगज ।

कान्तकलिका

[२४]

उद्घाटचोद्घाटच घाटातटमटति नटन्नुद्भटं टापटङ्क-
प्राकटचस्फुटचमानस्फटविकटमटत्कारकोटिस्फटीशः ।
लाटीलुण्टाकघण्टाघटघटितपटूद्घुष्टपुष्टाङ्गचेष्टा-
विश्लिष्टस्पष्टनष्टप्रतिभटपटलत्रोटको घोटकोऽयम् ।।

शूरश्लोकः

[२५]

वारितरवारितरवारिदरकारिशरसन्तते
सारघनसारघनसारसन[5]तारजनसंवृते ।
हूतपुरहूतपुरधूतवरचूतभरलो[6]भवान्
देव बलदेवबल देवतरुरेव तरुणो भवान् ।।

वीरविरुदम्

[२६]

कविकुलकुवलयकुसुमकलाकर
करतलकलितकुरुचिकमलाकर ।
मदगजमुदित महितमहिमण्डक
मणिमयमुकुरमसृणमृदुगण्डक ।।

शुचिरुचिरुचिरचिकुरचयचामर
चटुचरचरणचलनचकितामर ।
यमसमसमरसृमर सुरसुन्दर
वरसर सरसरसन[7] लसदिन्दिर ।।

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१. °लिकुल° । २. °यत° । ३. °तुङ्गात° । ४. °टङ्का° । ५. °सर° । ६. °तरलो° । ७. °लसन ।

शतशित[1]सितशरशरण शुभोदय
शरदुरुशशधरसकलयशोमय ।
जयनय[2]निलय मलयतरुशीतल
सुसमयहयरय[3]सभयमहीतल ॥
कान्तकलिका

[२७]

त्वद्दोरुद्यत्प्रतापद्युमणिपरिचयादप्यनापन्नहानो
भिन्दानो वन्दिवृन्दाननकमलवनं दारुणः कैरवाणाम् ।
स्वज्योत्स्नावीचिनीचीकृतनिखिलयशःक्षीरको वीर कोऽयं
क्षोणीजाने न जाने विहरति जगति त्वद्यशोऽनुष्णशोचिः ॥
शूरश्लोकः

[२८]

रङ्गमुसङ्गम पङ्गविहङ्गमतुङ्गतुरङ्गम[4]भङ्गिभुजङ्गम
सङ्गरमङ्गल भङ्गुरसङ्कलदञ्चलचञ्चलकुन्तलकुन्तल[5]
मञ्जुलमण्डल वञ्जुलकुण्डल दण्डनपण्डित मण्डनमण्डित ।
वीरविरुदम्

[२९]

जय जय दलदरविन्दवृन्दनिन्दोचितलोचन
मणिगणकिरणकदम्बलम्बसंवर्धितरोचन ।
करिकुलकुलिशदुरन्तदन्तसन्तक्षणसक्षण
रणवनविपुलविपक्षवृक्षविक्षोभविचक्षण ॥

जय जय निजभुजदण्डचण्डकोदण्डलशरासन
कृशतनुकुचकरिकुम्भलम्भसम्भोगविभावन ।
हिमहिमकरहरहारतारकोदारयशोमय
धरणिधरणधनवीरवीर गम्भीरगुणोदय ॥

जय जय विजितनृपालिपालिसम्पालितपादुक
मदकलकलभपलाप[6]शापसापत्न्यदवाचिक ।

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१. °शित° । २. °जननय° । ३. °चय° । ४. °विहङ्गम° ।
५. °कुण्डलचञ्चलकुण्डल° । ६. °कलाप° ।

चलतरचतुरतुरङ्ग तुङ्गशृङ्गारिमतङ्गज
रतिरसरभसविलोलगोलरोलम्बदृगम्बुज ॥

कान्तकलिका

[३०]

मातङ्गश्रुतिवातशोषितशचीशृङ्गारपत्रावली
वाहव्यूहविलोलधूलिमलिनब्रह्मासनाम्भोरुहि ।
प्रस्थाने तव भेरिभैरवरवव्यालोलसप्तार्णव-
क्लृप्तावस्थितिवैपरीत्यविपदि व्यस्तं समस्तं जगत् ॥

गुरश्लोकः

[३१]

जय परवारणकटतटतालक
जय परवारणभुजविजितालक ।
जय बहुधारण वरतरलालक
जय बहुधा रणखरशरलालक ॥

वीरविरुदम्

[३२]

महिवरुण मरुदरुण परतरुणकरकरुणाकृतचरणयुगभरण जितकरण सित[1]शरण जयशरण भयहरण कलितरण ललितरण रणकरण कनकरणदसिवरण पटुभरण पटहरवपटलनवघटितदवधरणिधवनिलय भववलयस्रवदमितद्रवदमृतनवभणित[2] भव-दहितशवरुधिरजवरचितयव सदवयव यमितयवन सरलबल[3] सविभव गुणगणवदुरुपण-वनमदमर समसमर ततसमरकृतचमर चलचिकुरमणिमुकुरविधुमधुर मधुविधुर बहुखपुरसुमुखपुर तरणिखरकरनिकरललितशरदलितपरतिमिरभर भिदुरकरविदुरवर द्विरदकरमुदिरवरगमितदर नमितनर समितिशरदमृतकर धमित[4]धर समितचर गिरि-कुहरचिरविहरदरिनगर नलसगरसृदृगधरशुभग[5]तर ।

कान्तकलिका

[३३]

भेरीभाङ्कारभीत्या परिहरति हरिच्चण्डवेतण्डगण्डौ
रम्भावक्षोजकुम्भावनुसरति जलं भावसम्भावनेन ।

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१. शित°. २. °तुलित. ३. °वर. ४. °रमित. ५. सुभग°.

भूमीकन्दर्प दर्पात् त्वयि चलति सति द्वेषियोषा सरोषा
विश्लेषात् पत्रलेखामपनयति मुदा चित्रलेखा तनोति ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[३४]

खर्वखलगर्व चलसर्वबलदर्वबल मर्वमलपर्वतलतर्वनल शर्वबल ।

[३५]

विधिरिव चरणतलागतविपक्षमोदक्षमो न परपद्मोपपन्नस्थितिः, हरिरिव हिरण्याक्षविक्षेपदक्षो न रक्षोभीतिहरः, शङ्कर इव सम्मीलितचक्षुःश्रवा न वामीकृत-कान्ताजनः, पाकशासन इव विविधविद्याधरविबुधबद्धादरो नास्थाने गुरुग्रहधरः, निशाकर इव शिलीमुखमुखविखण्डितकैरवपत्रो न त्रोटितमित्रोदयः, रविरिव तरुणप्रतापविपोथित-पृथ्वीधरो न रोचिरुच्चाटितकुमुदामोदः । मन्ये देव एव केवलं जनवञ्चनाय किञ्चिद-न्यथाभूतः । सकमलोऽपि न सतामरसोऽनतापकारको नापि न तापकारकोऽनलसमा-नोऽपि न नलसमानो भवान् ।

[३६]

जय जय कलिकर्ण कर्णद्वयीताण्डवाकाण्डपाण्डित्यसण्डीनगण्डालिनीडिण्डिमा-डम्बरोड्डामरोदञ्चदण्डीरशुण्डीशहिण्डीरपिण्डीसुखण्डीकृतोद्दण्डशुण्डातरण्डाजिखण्डाब्धि-हिण्डत्सचण्डीशचामुण्ड दोर्मण्डलीचण्डलीलोढगण्डस्थलीकुण्डलीभूतकण्डूलकोदण्डलीनोरु-काण्डप्रचण्डाहितुण्डावलीढारिचण्डालरुण्डाढचमुण्डावलीमण्डिताजाण्डभाण्ड स्फुरत्पुण्डरी-काक्षदण्डप्रणाम क्षमामण्डलाखण्डलाखण्डगाण्डीविचण्डीशिखण्डीशकाण्डीरवेतण्डमार्त्त-ण्डवैतण्डिक क्षोणिपालालिबालामिलन्मौलिमालामणिव्रातबालातपालालिताङ्घ्रिप्रवाला-न्तरालाकरालामृतालाप हालापकालातिकालाहिजालाहितालानताला[1]रक्तशालाटविप्रो-ल्लसल्लाभनिर्लास्यसल्लाट भल्लाटमल्लाटनोल्लासनोल्लाघतल्लापतल्लाजवल्लातहूल्लात मल्लातिमल्लामृगोल्ला[3]सुहृल्लाजफुल्लासिवल्लावसल्लाघवायातविश्र[4]तरि त्वय्यशङ्का मही मोदते ।

कान्तकलिका

[३७]

कृत्वा नृत्यमधित्रिलोकि कुतुकात् त्वत्कीर्तिसन्नर्त्तकी
यद्भूमण्डनमण्डनानि मुमुचे सुव्यक्तमद्यापि तत् ।

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१. °नीलो°. २. °लिताला°. ३. °सृगोल्ला°. ४. °वाधातरि त्रा°.

ग्रैवेयं गगनापगा मणिमयो हारश्च ताराचयः
कौन्दं दाम तुषारधामवलयो नीलं वितानं नभः ।।

शूरश्लोकः

[३८]

कमलपलाशक्षपितपलाशक्षतजपलाशक्षरदखिलाश स्मितनव[1]काशस्फुरदवकाश त्रिदशनिकाश प्रणयविकाश प्रतिगजनाश प्रचितजनाश[2] ।

वीरविरुदम्

[३९]

चलति त्वयि रङ्गादपि चतुरङ्गानमितभुजङ्गाधिपतिफणम् ।
विदलति भृशमुर्वी शतगुणगुर्वी शिव शिव खर्वीकृतकमठम् ।।

चिरतरमतिकम्पादनुकृतशम्पानिजकलसम्पाटितशिरसः ।
प्रतिभूपतिदारा विगलितहारा घनजलधारावलितदृशः ।।

च्युतचिकुरकलापा विहितविलापा जवनतलापाकृतरसनम् ।
प्रविशन्ति गिरीणामपगतचीना भयभरदीना गहनवनम् ।।

प्रविशति बत लङ्केशितुरपि शङ्के सचकितमङ्के कमलमुखी ।
किमपरमिह जम्भाहितपरिरम्भादपि सुखलम्भा दिवि न शची ।।

करविगलितपद्मा मृगयति पद्मा दिशि दिशि पद्मायतनयनम् ।
भयगद्गदवाणी भजति भवानी सपदि हिमानीकरतिलकम् ।।

हरितोऽपि हयाली खरखुरपाली खुरलिकरालीकृतरजसा ।
निह्नुवत इवालं रविकरजालं दयितमनालम्बितरभसा ।।

कान्तकलिका

[४०]

शैनेयो नाभिनेयो गुरुरगुरुरसौ नापगेयोऽपगेयो[3]
राधेयो नाभिधेयो न खलु हरिहयो हैहयो नेह योग्यः ।
अन्यत् किं सज्यमाधुन्वति भवति धनुर्दण्डमुद्दण्डमुद्यद्-
गाण्डीवग्रन्थिगण्डस्थलमपि गणये पाण्डवं पण्डमेव ।।

शूरश्लोकः

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१. °लव°. २. °प्रतिजननाश. ३. °गेयोऽपि गेयो.

[४१]

दोषापतिमुख दोषाहतिमुखदोषारतिसमदोषापतिसमयोषामतिपरिमोषाकृति-परितोषानत[1]परिपोषानतगिरिकोषागतपरशोषाततशर ।

वीरविरुदम्

[४२]

जय नृपनन्दन वनजितनन्दन हरिकृतवन्दन[2] परिधृतचन्दन वितर नवं धनमयमनिबन्धन मुरु[3]मणिबन्धन खलजनबन्धन परपुरभञ्जन[4] गुणिगणरञ्जन भय-भरभञ्जन मुखसुख सज्जनविजयविजृम्भण गुणपरिरम्भण सुखमुपलम्भन घनपरिरम्भण मधुमधुरम्भणरसलसदङ्गन भसलसदङ्गण परतरटङ्कनगणरणरिङ्गण कमलविलम्बक सुभगसदम्बक युवतिकदम्बकमुखविधुचुम्बक महितलमण्डक परभटभण्डक कुचरित-दण्डक सुचरितपण्डक गजमदमोचक रतिरसरोचक सुललितलोचकनयननिकोचक अरिकरिदारक कटतटदारक विदितविचारक विमत[5]निवारक वसनविसारक बहुकृति-कारक रदजिततारक सदजिततारक ।

कान्तकलिका

[४३]

कर्णस्वर्णविभूषणारुणमणिश्रेणिश्रियामाश्रया-
दीषद्दर्शितशोणशोचिषि दृशोः प्रान्तेऽतिकान्ते तव ।
सानन्दं समुदेति देव परितः पौरन्दरे मन्दिरे
दिव्याना[6]मरविन्दसुन्दरदृशां मन्दारदामोद्यमः ।।

शूरश्लोकः

[४४]

तुङ्गश्रोणीमुखविधुमधुरमधुव्रत रङ्ग[7]क्षोणीखलदलदलनघनव्रत ।
शम्पालोलालकरुचिरुचिरविलोचन चम्पाचोलाधिपकचनिचयविमोचन ।
फुल्लन्मल्लीविचकिल[8]वकुलविचक्षणवेल्लद्वल्लीवलयितविपिनवरक्षण[9] ।।

वीरविरुदम्

[४५]

चलति त्वयि कालोपमकरवालोपालोकनरसरभसवति ।
करतालितभालो विगलितमालो मालो गिरितटमनुसरति ।।

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१. °तोषानति. २. °चन्दन. ३. वितरणबन्धनमरु° ४. वरगञ्जन. ५. विमति°. ६. मन्दाना°. १. वङ्ग° । २. °विचिकिल° । ३. °विचक्षण ।

करकलितकपोलो भयभरलोलो रोलो विलपति किमिदमिति ।
शल्लित[1] इव चोलो विलुठितचोलो दोलोदितमतिमति भवति ॥
चलदलचलदङ्गो वलदभिषङ्गो बङ्गो भङ्गुरवरयुवति ।
परहृतचरतुङ्गो[2] विमुपितरङ्गो गङ्गोदरदरमनुविशति ॥
चिरतरमातङ्काकलितकलङ्का लङ्का जलनिधिमधिचलति ।
मगधेपु सशङ्का वपुपि भृशं काऽलङ्कारं बत विरचयति ॥
शिव शिव सौवीरा अपि वरधीरा भीरा विसदृशमभिदधति ।
परिकल्पितचीरा वपुरपि कीरा हीरा वलिवलितं जहति ॥
विनिधाय सदारा विसरदुदारासारा[3] निजकरभरमुरसि ।
विदधति ताहारा विदलितहारा हारावं हिमगिरिशिरसि ॥
केशायितकेशा विघटितदेशादेशा दिशि दिशि दशनमधि ।
तृणमिह वसुधेशा विरहितवेशा वेशा बिभ्रति नतिरवधि[4] ॥

कान्तकलिका

[४६]

क्षिप्रोत्क्षिप्तक्षुरप्रक्षितिभृदतिभृशक्षोभितक्षत्रवीर-
क्षीरोदक्षोदकक्षोदयदमलयशोऽनुक्षणक्षालितद्यौः ।
मन्ये वैपक्षपक्षक्षयनयनसुखः स्वर्णलक्षाभिमोक्षा-
देकोऽसि क्षोणिरक्षोचितचरित सहस्राक्ष ऋक्षेशयक्षैः[5] ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[४७]

जय कल्याणविशारद शारदशशिकल्पानन पारदभारद ।
जय दन्तावलदन्तनिकृन्तन सुख[6]सन्तानचिरन्तनचिन्तन ।
जय नीहारनिवारणकारण रमणीहारविसारणचारण ।
जय सन्नादिभुजङ्गमजङ्गम जय सन्नादितुरङ्गमसङ्गम ।
जय भूपालकरालकलालक परभूपालकजालकतालक ।

वीरविरुदम्

[४८]

जय जय वन्दितवरकुरुविन्दवदनविनिन्दितशरदरविन्द ।
मनसिजसुन्दर सुखमनुविन्द गिरिवरकन्दरगतपरवृन्द ॥

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१. शल्पि(ल्यि)त° । २. °चतुरङ्गो । ३. °रामारा । ४. न निरवधि । ५. ऋक्षेनपक्षैः । ६. कृत° ।

परिनटदिन्दिरविलसदलिन्दमणिमयमन्दिर मिलितमिलिन्द-
मदगजनन्दितमलयकलिन्द परपुरनन्दितविपुलपुलिन्द ॥
गुरुभुजमन्दर तनुतरतुन्द विदलदमन्दरदनजितकुन्द ।
विरचितचन्दन गुणिगणकन्द सुभणितनन्दनवनमकरन्द ॥
कान्तकलिका

[४९]

खुरप्रस्फुरद्धूलिधारान्धकाराभिसारागताप्रातिभारातिपद्माः ।
खलीनावलीलास्यलीलावलीढत्रिलोकीतलोत्कीर्णसंकीर्णपद्माः ॥
स्फुटप्रस्फुटद्वैरिपक्षोरुवक्षोगलच्छोणितक्षोदज[1]क्षोभभाजः ।
कशालोककालोचिता[2]लोलटापच्छलाकारिताकामनाकाधिराजः ॥
पृथुप्रोथसञ्चारदम्भावलम्भादलं भामलम्भादिकं भावयन्तः ।
पदाघातसङ्घातसञ्जातवातैः समुद्रानपि द्रागुपद्रावयन्तः ॥
समस्तारिविस्तारिमस्तालिमेदस्रवत्स[3]र्पिरुत्सर्पिदर्पाग्निसङ्गे[4] ।
विपक्षावलाबाष्पवृष्टचै वहन्तो बलादध्वरं दुर्धरं युद्धरङ्गे[5] ॥
हठादुन्मुखीभूय हेषाविशेषादनिद्रोदयद्रोमविद्रोहिभूपाः ।
चलत्कन्धरा बन्धुराबन्धराजी[6]भवत्केशरोद्देशरोचिष्णुरूपाः ॥
भ्रमन्तो नवं तोरणं तोलयन्तो धयन्तो नु सन्तोषयन्तो दिगन्तान् ।
अखर्वाजिगर्वादटन्तोऽपि सन्तो हसन्तो भृशं तोकमुन्मील्य दन्तान् ॥
करिष्यामहे किं नु भृ[7]त्याऽनसत्या नियत्या कियत्या भवत्याऽभिभूताः ।
इतीव क्षितीमानतीभूय भूयः क्रुधा ताडयन्तः पदाग्रैरुदग्रैः ॥
धरामीनकेतो दरामीलदक्षा[8]स्तवामी नवा गन्धवाहा नु वाहाः ।
नटन्ति स्फुटं तिग्मतीर्णप्रतिज्ञामुदेवाधिदेवाहवे गाढवेगाः ॥
शूरश्लोकः

[५०]

नीरधरधीरतर सीरकरवीर[9] वरचीर करवीरकर धीरपरहीरहर ।
वीरविरुदम्

[५१]

सलिलेषु निलीना दिनदिनदीना मीना इव गुरुशङ्कम् ।
कलयन्ति सपत्ना विगलितरत्ना रत्नाकरमपि पङ्कम् ॥

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१. °क्षोदन° । २. °लोचिता° । ३. मेदःस्खलत्स° । ४. °सङ्गम् । ५. °रङ्गम् । ६. °बन्धुराजी° । ७. करिष्यामि किं नाम भृ° । ८. °मीदन्ता° । ९. °धीर ।

विदलन्ति समन्तादपि हरिदन्ता दन्तावलपदपातैः ।
प्रसभं च खलीना[1]कर्षणलीलाशीलायत[2]हयघातैः ॥
विनटति हसदालीपण्डितपाली काली करतलतालैः ।
फणितिलकफणाली फलमिव फालीफालीयति बलभारैः ॥
जय पादपमूलीभवदुरुधूलीकूलीकृतजलपूरम् ।
विमलध्वजफेना सरिदिव सेना ते नादयति विदूरम् ॥
द्रवदमरसुदृक्का दलति न दिक्का ढक्कानिनदविसारैः ।
पिदधत्यपि तारापतिमिह पारावारा लहरिविकारैः ॥
विरताखिलभृङ्गीमृदुलमृदङ्गीसङ्गीतं मदशोषैः ।
कति सीदति शातं सुरकरिजातं सातङ्कं गजघोषैः ॥
कुसुमावलिवासावलितविलासावासा विसरदनङ्गम् ।
सुरसद्मनि बाला सुरतरुमालामालानयति सुरङ्गम् ॥
तरुणीकुचकुम्भाकृतपरिरम्भा रम्भागुणगणवित्ते ।
चलति त्वयि के वा भयमपि देवा देवा दधति न[3] चित्ते ॥

कान्तकलिका

[५२]

कन्या कीर्तिः प्रतापस्तव भवति वरो मेरुवेद्यामभिद्या-
मद्याप्येतौ समेतौ त्रिदशमृगदृशो वीर नीराजयन्ति ।
यद्भानुं देव दीपं दधि विधुवलयं धूर्गयन्त्यर्पयन्त्यः
स्वर्गङ्गावारिधारामुपरि च परितस्तारतारक्षतांश्च[4] ॥

गुरुश्लोकः

[५३]

नयनामितपर नयनामित परशयनाटितशरशयनाटितनर पवनाशनभुज दरना-शनगज धवलासनशत नवलासनरत कमलाकृतिपद कमलाकृतिपद ।

वीरविरुदम्

[५४]

श्वासावासादविकलनासादासायिततिल दुर्जनतर्जन ।
रासा[5] यासाकुलमुखकासारासादितसुख सज्जनमज्जन ॥

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१. खलीला° । २. °शीलायित° । ३. च. ४. °क्षतानि. ५. वासा° ।

त्रासादासारितपर हासाभासाजितवरपारदनारद[1] ।
प्रासादासाधितरस प्रासाभाशायितलसदुद्भटसद्भट ॥
काशाभासादकयश आसारासाधुषु भृशदण्डनमण्डन[2] ।
नाशालासा[3]कुलितविलासावासाहितरविनीरद हीरद ॥
माराकाराधितधनभारा[4]दाराधितजन रञ्जन सज्जन[5] ।
पारावाराटविमय पारावारालय जयचन्दननन्दन ॥
चाराचारातुल घनसारासाराकुलघनसुन्दरमन्दिर ।
सारावारालितशर कारागारागतपर बन्धुरकन्धर ॥
तारादाराधिकरुचिहाराभाराजितशुचिहृत्तल सत्तल ।
आरामारादतिरतिधाराधारावनिपतिकुण्डलमण्डल ॥

कान्तकलिका

[५५]

संग्रामग्रामनामज्वलदसिदलितक्रामदामत्तदन्ति -
ग्रामण्यामुक्तमुक्ताफलफलितयशोवल्लिविश्रामवृक्षः ।
उद्दामस्थामधामस्थगितगतिकतिक्षामसामन्तवामा -
कामोत्थामोदवामो विहरति भवतो वीर बाहुप्रकाण्डः ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[५६]

धीरवादिश्रनीरवामित्रपण्डिता शेप पण्डिता[6]नेप चण्डझम्पासिदण्ड संपासि भूपते कामरूप ते नाम कस्य नोदेति पश्य नोदेति ।

वीरविरुदम्

[५७]

जय जय मलयनिलयतरुशील मणिमयवलयमलयशयनील ।
कुवलयकिसलयसमसुकुमार सहृदयसमुदयसमुदयसार ॥
अचकितचलितचतुरचतुरङ्गकृतफणिफलगणगहनविभङ्ग ।
बलवलदरिकरिमदसदनूपहरण तरुणतपतपनसरूप ॥
भणितजनितमधुमधुर धुरीण चतुरतुरगडगडगितमहीन[7] ।
नृपवनपवन जघनघनवान लसितहसितसितविततवितान ॥

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१. °नादपरद । २. °मण्डलदण्डल । ३. नाशानाशा° । ४. °धिकधनतारा° । ५. रञ्जन सञ्जन । ६. मण्डितानेप । ७. °नदीन ।

अमलकमलदलतरलदृगन्त परमरमणिमणिगुणितवसन्त ।
समुचितविरचितखलदलदण्ड निजभुजभुजगविजितजगदण्ड ॥
नलिनमलिनकरचरणसुवेश नखरशिखरनमदमतनिरेश[1] ।
हरिपरिचरणशरण शुकलाप[2] गजबलतलमलदचलकलाप ॥
दशनवसनजितपरिणतबिम्ब धनुरनुरचितकनकनिकुरम्ब ।
मदकलमधुकरनिकरनिकुञ्ज मुखमुख जनुरनुगुणगुणपुञ्ज ॥
विशदलविशदललितशयनीय नयनवनयन वलनकमनीय ।
समरद समरदलितपरवीर शरदवसर[3]दवसर नृपहीर ॥
समुदितसमुदितसुजनविनोद महितलमहितलपितकृतनोद[4] ॥

कान्तकलिका

[५८]

दीर्यद्दन्तिघटाकटान्तरुदयन्मुक्तानुपक्तासृगा-
वर्तावेष्टितमुल्लसत्यसिलतामूलं करालं तव ॥
शङ्के शात्रवशातनाय शनकैः शृङ्गाटके तण्डुलैः
सिन्दूरैरपि चक्रपूरणमिदं चक्रे समिड्डाकिनी ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[५९]

बाणवशदानव शतामलस[5]मानलसमान पव[6]मान जवमानजयतानहय दान-
दयमान जय ।

वीरविरुदम्

[६०]

जय जय जगदवदानसमरसदान मसरसदानटदतुलहय ।
जय जय शिशिरवितानरुचिरवितानसुचिर[7] वितानविमतनिचय ॥
जय जय चलचतुरङ्ग चतुरतुरङ्ग विहितसुरङ्ग पिहितगगन ।
जय जय मृदितपतङ्ग मुदितमतङ्गदलितभुजङ्गमफणगहन[8] ॥
जय जय महिपुरुहूत चिकुरसुहूत सुघनकुहूतटतिमिरभर ।
जय जत भयपरिभूत जगदनुभूतबहुमुख[9] भूतलतिलकवर ॥

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१. °दमित° । २. स्व(सु ?)क° । ३. °शरद° । ४. °मोद ।
५. शतानलस° । ६. °नवा° । ७. रुचिर° । ८. रणगगण । ९. °सुख ।

जय जय विनयविशेषविनमदशेषनरपतिशेखर मृदुचरण ।
जय जय जनपरिवेषपरमसुवेष तरुण रणे[1] खलदल[2]हरण ।।
जय जय दलितविरोधिवलितशिरोधिरुधिरनिरोधितसकलधर ।
जय जय सुरवरयोधिविशिखपयोधिसदृश वयोऽधिकविनतिपर ।।
जय जय सुललित[3]मालतरुणतमालगहनतमालयसविधवन ।
जय जय विचलदकालघनसमकालगतबहुकालधवलभवन ।।
जय जय विषमदशोन[4] यधुमदशोणकमलदृशो नवकुसुमशर ।
जय जय विलसति को न तव करकोणजितपरको[5] नयविनयधर ।।

कान्तकलिका

[६१]

युष्मत्कीर्त्तिप्रतापौ सुकृतिसमधिकौ वीक्ष्य विज्ञः पयोधौ
स्थाने जाने स निर्मज्जयति मुहुरिमौ पुष्पवन्तौ विधाता ।
धिक् श्वेतौ न स्थितौ यत् फणिपतिवडवावह्निवत् तस्य गर्भे
भूयो भूयोऽपि भूमीतलतिलक मुखं दर्शयेते जनेभ्यः ।।

शूरश्लोकः

[६२]

सिन्धुरचितमदसिन्धुरचितमद वन्धुरमणिरति[6]वन्धुरमणिरतिपण्डित जय जय-मण्डित जय जय ।

वीरविरुदम्

[६३]

जय परिभूतप्रतिरथसूत क्षितिपुरुहूत प्रतिपलहूतद्विषदुरुदूत[7] द्युतिपरिपूत प्रसरितचूत प्रगुणितभूत स्वयमनुभूतस्वबलविधूतप्रबलकूलूतप्रचलितलूत ।।

कान्तकलिका

[६४]

धरावसन्नपन्नगप्रसन्नसन्नटन्नखाः
कशाभृशाभिशापतापसिन्धुझम्पसम्मुखाः ।

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१. रवे । २. °दार° । ३. विलुलित° । ४. °दशोण । ५. °ततकरको ।
६. मणितरति° । ७. °सूत ।

सुमेरुसानुसानुसानुबन्धजानुबन्धुराः
स्खलत्खलीन[1]बद्धलीलयुद्धशीलकन्धराः ।।
अखण्डचण्डमण्डलीसुकुण्डलीकृताननाः
खुराभिघातजातवातवारितारिकाननाः ।
अलं विलम्बिकण्ठचुम्बिचन्द्रचारुचामराः
पदङ्कटङ्कटङ्कृतिस्फुटस्फुटद्धराधराः ।।
समुद्रसङ्कुलङ्घनाघृणाघनानतिक्रमाः
अपि त्रिविष्टपोपविष्टपोयने गतश्रमाः ।
तवाहवाजि[2]वाजिनो वरा[3]जिनोपरञ्जिताः
स्फुटन्ति भूभुज[4]ङ्गभोगिभङ्ग[5]योजितव्रताः ।।
शूरश्लोकः

[६५]

रक्ष रक्ष लक्षलक्षमेवमेव देव देवराजराजराजराज-
दङ्गदङ्ग रङ्गरङ्ग[6] चापचापलापलाप ।
वीरविरुदम्

[६६]

नन्ददमलकुन्दकमलवृन्दधवलमन्दिरे
मन्दविजयकन्दविनयनन्दतनयसुन्दरे ।
क्षीरहसित धीरललित वीरवलितकुण्डले
कीरवचन धीरनयन हीररदनमण्डले ।।
स्फीततरुण वीतहरिणशीतकिरणतल्पये[7]
पीतगगनगीतजवनभीतपवनसद्धये ।
रङ्गपरमसङ्गतरमतुङ्गतरमतङ्गजे
भङ्गविचलदङ्गविकलबङ्गनृपलसद्भुजे ।।
स्फारसघनसारजघनचारुवसनराजिते
सारभमलतार तरलहारवरलतावृते ।
दण्डदलितखण्डकलितपुण्ड[8]वलितपालये[9]
चण्डकरटिगण्डविकट[10]पिण्डविघटनोदये ।।
मालधरणिपालरमणिकालसमनिभालिते
भालफलकपालितिलकबालशशिकलायुते ।

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१. °खलील । २. °वाज° । ३. नवा° । ४. भो भुज° । ५. °भङ्गि° ।
६. °रङ्ग सङ्गरङ्ग । ७. °तल्प ए । ८. °पण्ड । ९. °पोलये । १०. °विकटि° ।

हंसरमण[1] वंशशमन[2] कंसदमनचिन्तके
शंसफलवदंश कुलवतंस बलवदन्तिके ।।
कामकदनधामवदन दामकिरणमण्डिते
वामयुवतिभामविततिनामविहृतिपण्डिते ।
सूपरचितधूपखचितकूपमुखितखेदिनी
भूप भवति रूपमवति यूपमयति[3] मेदिनी ।।

कान्तकलिका

[६७]

विद्धे केतुशलाकया रिपुकृते वक्षःक्षते भास्वतः
प्रस्थाने तव कर्णतालपवनं तन्वन्ति दन्तावलाः ।
आप्ता वाजिवराः करैरिव खुरैरायन्त्रयन्ति[4] व्रणं
धूलीवस्त्रमुपाहरन्ति जनतादृक्पातभीता दिशः ।।

शूरश्लोकः

[६८]

इन्दीवरदलसुन्दरलोचन वन्दीकृतरिपुगर्वविमोचन
मन्दीकृतनवनिर्मलरोचन सन्दीपितकुल पद्मविलोचन[5]
वन्दीरितविरुदावलिरोचन मन्दीकृतजनदुर्गतिशोचन ।।

वीरविरुदम्

[६९]

जय जय चपलतुरङ्गचतुरचतुरङ्गसमन्वित
जय जय नयनतरङ्गतरलतरबङ्गपतिस्तुत[6] ।
जय जय ललितललाटघटितनवहाटकनिन्दन
जय जय कमलकपाटपुटकपरिपाटकवन्दन ।।
जय जय दलदभिरामदमनदलदामसुबन्धुर
जय जय नवहिमधामधवलघन[7]धामधुरन्धर ।
जय जय चकितचकोरनयन मणिकोरकतोरण
जय जय कमलकठोरविमतचयतोरणधोरण ।।
जय जय धनुरनुरागधरणिपुनरागतराघव[8]
जय जय मणिपरभागसुभगकरभागरिभार्गव ।

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१. °गमन । २. °रमण । ३. °मवति । ४. °रायन्तु यन्त्रि° ।
५. °विरोचन । ६. °पतिस्सु (स्तु?)त । ७. °धन° । ८. °लाघव ।

जय जय जितजगदण्ड भुजगभुजदण्ड सपण्डित
जय जय विमलसुगण्डफलकतल कुण्डलमण्डित ।।
जय जय मदनसुवेश विनयविनिवेशविवर्धन
जय जय निखिलनरेशरमणिघनकेशविकर्षण ।
जय जय खरकरवालदलितनरपालकपालक
जय जय जलरुहजालजयनमुख बालकलालक ।।
जय जय लसदवलोकसुखितनरलोक रणोदय
जय जय विदलदशोकचरण गतशोक यशोमय ।
जय जय सुकृतविपाकविहित[1]महिनाक गुणाकर
जय जय पिशुनवराकतिमिरवधराकनिशाकर ।।
जय जय मुदितमयूरमसृणमणिपूरविराजित
जय जय विजित[2]विदूरविनतवरशूरसभाजित ।
जय जय कमलसमानसहजलसमानशुभानन
जय जय विमलविमान विकटकुसुमानतकानन ।।
कान्तकलिका

[७०]

युद्धक्रुद्धमदान्धगन्धगजताविक्षेपचित्रं भव-
च्चारित्रं कलिकर्ण किन्नरकुलोद्गीतं शनैः शृण्वती ।
सद्यो भाववती भयाभिनयने भाग्येन सन्देशिता
पौलीमी पुलकान्विताऽपि पुरतः पत्युः परिस्फूर्जति ।।
शूरश्लोकः

[७१]

डिण्डिमचण्डिममण्डित पण्डितखण्डक
मुण्डकमण्डलदण्डल[3] हिण्डनमण्डन ।
वीरविरुदम्

[७२]

सुन्दराजिवाजिवृन्द कुन्दराजिहास
नन्ददिन्दिरारविन्दकन्दमन्दिरानन प्रभो ।

१. °विहित° । २. विदित° । ३. °मण्डल ।

अङ्गरागराजमान सङ्गराजिरावदान
भङ्गरातिकम्पमानबङ्गराज रक्ष भोः[१] ॥

अञ्जनाकुमारसार गञ्जनाकुलारिदार
खञ्जनाभदृग्विहार कञ्जनालकोमलः ।

सिन्धुना समानदान गन्धनागसाभिमान-
बन्धनाधिकावधान किं नराधिपो नलः ॥

मन्दनीप[२]चारुदेह चन्दनीयदारुगेह
वन्दनीयमाधवेश नन्दनीचिगक्षमः ।

शिञ्जिनीपयोदपुञ्जकुञ्जनीतगुर्जरानु-
रञ्जनीयमञ्जुवैरिभञ्जनीयविक्रमः ॥

अङ्गुलीसुवर्णसङ्गपिङ्गलीकृतोरुरङ्ग
मङ्गलीयदुन्दुभिप्रसङ्गलीनदुर्जनः ।

कुन्तलीढदन्तिदन्त कुन्तलीदुरन्तचिन्त-
कुन्तलीकृतस्वतन्त्रकुन्तलीयकर्षणः ॥

तुन्दलोलकुन्ददामकुण्डलोरुचण्डधाम-
मण्डलोदयाभिरामगण्ड लोकसन्मते ।

किञ्च लोभनीयभावचञ्चलोभयीयभाव[३]-
दञ्चलोदिताखिलप्रपञ्चलोचनद्युते ॥

दिव्यतूण[४]शोणभाग भव्यतोरणा[५]नुराग
नव्यतोयदाभदान सर्वतो निरामयम् ।

सर्वतो दधातु[६] मोदमर्वतो महाविनोद
खर्वतोपनीतशर्व[७]पर्वतो भवानयम् ॥

कान्तकलिका

[७३]

ये पूर्वं केलिसौधे[८] कुशलतरसखीहस्तविन्यस्तसान्द्र-[९]
श्लक्ष्णश्रीखण्डपातादपि सपदि चमत्कृत्य शीत्कारमूहुः ।
त्वत्प्रस्थाने त एव क्षितिरमणमणे युष्मदारातिदाराः
पारावारोपकण्ठे पिदधति परितः पङ्कपूरैर्वपूंषि ॥

शूरश्लोकः

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१. भो । २. °नीय° । ३. °धाव-° । ४. °तोण° । ५. °तोटका° ।
६. °दगर्व° । ७. सर्वतोपनीतसर्व° । ८. °शैले । ९. °सार्द्र° ।

[७४]

जय जय गतभय सहृदयबहुदय किसलय-
समशय गुणमय सविनयमप[1]नयमपनय ।

वीरविरुदम्

[७५]

पण्डीभावगमितपरखण्डीकारललितशर
चण्डीनाथचरणचिरचिन्तनमन्त्रण[2] ।
दण्डीरासिदलितवलदण्डीरातिविदितबल
शुण्डीशानदशनदलदण्डन मण्डन ॥
भृङ्गीशालिसदतिघनसङ्गीतालिसुभगवन-
सङ्गी पालिपतितजनतर्जनवर्जन ।
बङ्गीजातनयनतटभङ्गी[3]घातनिपुणभट
रङ्गीभात[4]विविधनट नर्तनवर्तन ॥
कालीकालकलितकरतालीजाल[5]निनदशर-
शाली शालशयितपरसैनिक वैणिक[6] ।
तालीतालतरुणदवपालीपाल दलितनव-
मालीभालतिलकलव दैशिक वैशिक ॥
नारीहारिविमलमुख सारी धारिसदन[7]सुख
मारीचारिचरित सुषमापरमाकर ।
वारीदामदलित[8]गजभारी भामनमितकुल[9]-
नारीणामगणितभुज नागर सागर ॥
कङ्कालीढरुधिरमयपङ्कालीनविमतचय-
कङ्कालीयशकल जय काञ्चनभासन ।
शङ्काहीनचतुरखुरटङ्काधीनमधुरधुर-
लङ्का[10]पीनभयदतुरगाननमानन ॥
लक्ष्यालक्ष्य[11]दलितखल रक्षादक्ष विजितनल
भिक्षाभक्षसुखद बलखर्वितपर्वत ।
शिक्षावृक्ष नृपतिगणपक्षापक्ष परमधन-
यक्षायक्षगणितगुण[12]गर्वितनिर्वृत ॥

कान्तकलिका

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१. °मव° । २. °यन्त्रण । ३. °भृङ्गी° । ४. °तात° । ५. °ताल° । ६. वैनिक । ७. °मदन° । ८. °दानदमित° । ९. °कुज° । १०. °रङ्का° । ११. लक्षालक्ष° । १२. °पक्षगुणितगण° ।

[७६]

चोली चोलमपाकरोति चपला मालो मृणालीयते
नेपाली नृप लीयते न लभते निद्रामपि द्राविली ।
कुञ्जे गुञ्जति गुर्जरी गिरिदरी[1]गर्भे विदर्भेश्वरी
कौवेरी शबरीव भाति भवतो भेरीरवैर्भैरवैः ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[७७]

कुञ्जरपञ्जरभञ्जन रञ्जन बन्धुरकन्धर
निर्धनवर्धन शङ्करशङ्कर सज्जनमज्जन[2]
मन्दरसुन्दर दुर्जनतर्जन कङ्कटशङ्कट
निर्णयनिर्णयमुद्भटसद्भट[3]मर्दयमर्दय ।

वीरविरुदम्

[७८]

गजगण्डकरण्डगलन्म[4]णितण्डुलमण्डलमण्डितदिग्भवना
समिदन्धकबन्धविवर्तविवर्तनवर्तुल[5]कौतुकिदेवगणा ।
रुधिरोदविलासपलासविकाशनिकाशदुरासदभूपरिधिः
करिकुम्भतटत्रुटितामरचामरतामरसातिरसाजलधिः ॥
सहसैव समिद्धसमुद्धतसद्धयनद्धनिरामयरेणुघना
दलितद्विपदन्तदुरन्तनिरन्तरवह्निविवर्तित[6]वैरिवना ।
तरवारिहतारिविसारिवमूचयचुम्बनचिक्कणघोरणधूः
प्रियसङ्गमरङ्गतरङ्गदनङ्गसुवेशसुरेशक[7]वेशवधूः ॥
निपतन्नृःकोटिकरोटिसुचर्वणसर्वसगर्वशृगालखगा[8]
चलचापकलापप्रतापहुताशहठाहुतबाहुजबाहुयुगा ।
समुदस्तसमस्तधराधिपमस्तनिरस्तविहस्तमहस्तरणिः
तव भाति पुरन्दरसुन्दरमन्दिरसङ्गररङ्गमयी धरणिः ॥

कान्तकलिका

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१. °दली° । २. °सज्जन । ३. °सद्भटमुद्भट° । ४. °मिलन्म° ।
५. °वर्णन° । ६. °विवर्णित° । ७. °दिवेशय° । ८. °खगाः ।

[७९]

श्रद्धा युद्धातिवृद्धा[1]दरतरलतरस्कन्धबन्धप्रधानाः
कुर्वाणाः कर्ण[2]बाणा इव परपृतनायातनायन्त्रणानि ।
लक्ष्मीलीलानुरूपं[3] खुरदलितधरा धूलिधूपं धुवन्तो
धावन्त्येते धरित्रीधरतिलक भवत्सैन्धवा गन्धवाहाः ॥
शूरश्लोकः

[८०]

बन्धुशरण[4] सन्धु[5]तरण पङ्गुपवन तुङ्गभवन
कुन्दरदन मन्दमदन जम्भदलनपद्म यजन[6]सद्मनयन ।
वीरविरुदम्

[८१]

जय जय देव क्षितिवल[7]देव क्षितिपतिलक्षसुरक्षितसेव
जय जय लेखप्रभुसमरेखप्रबल[8]तुरङ्गमभङ्गुरशेप ।
जय जय भूपस्तुतभुजयूप स्मितघनसारविसारसुरूप[9]
जय जय कल्पक्षितिरुहकल्प स्खलित[10]सुधारसु[11]धारसुजल्प ॥
जय जय तारदिविषदु[12]पहारद्युतिमयहर्म्यं हिरण्मयहार
जय जय कालप्रभकरवाल स्फुरितमदालसमालतिमाल ।
जय जय दानस्फुरदवदान प्रतिहतदर्पकदर्पवितान
जय जय वीर प्रकृतिगभीर प्रतिभटपुञ्जितकुञ्जकुटीर ॥
जय जय शीतद्युतिमुख गीतध्वनिकलकोकिलकण्ठ विनीत
जय जय कामप्रतिबल कामप्रद खरदूषणखण्डनराम ।
जय जय चापध्वनिपरितापप्रसरदमित्रकलत्रविलाप
जय जय रङ्गद्रुतबहुरङ्ग सुनयनसङ्गकुरङ्गकुरङ्ग ॥
कान्तकलिका

[८२]

त्वत्प्रेङ्खत्पारशीकप्रखर[13]खुरपुटीखण्डनोद्धूतधूली-
धारालिप्तेन्द्रनेत्रावलिगलितजलैर्याऽऽलवालस्य पूर्तिः[14] ।

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१. °हृद्या° । २. कर्म । ३. °स्वरूपं । ४. °तरण । ५. °सिन्धु° ।
६. °जयन° । ७. °तल° । ८°. °प्रभसमवेष प्रचल° । ९. °सरूप । १०. स्थगित° ।
११. °रस° । १२. °द्युसदु° । १३. °प्रकर° । १४. °लैरासयाऽऽवालपूर्तिः ।

साऽपि क्लेशाय जाता बहलफलकरी कल्पवृक्षस्य युष्मद्-
दानव्यर्थस्य राजन् विमतिमति विधौ सम्पदव्यापदेव ॥
शूरश्लोकः

[८३]

नलिनमलिनकरणचरण पवन[1]लवनयवनधुवनजघनपवन ।
वीरविरुदम्

[८४]

इन्दिरावलित वरमन्दिराकलितहर
मन्दराभिहित[2]धरकन्दरानिहितपर ।
मन्दराजगणगुण कन्दरावणवचन
कुन्दराजितरदन सुन्दराजितवदन ॥
कन्धराधर[3]वलय कन्धरावलन[4]जय
बन्धरावितमहिप गन्धरासित[5]मधुप ।
सिन्धुराधिपतिमद सिन्धुराजकभयद
बन्धुराधिकधरण बन्धुराजित[6]चरण ॥
गुर्जरा[7]धिपतिवरकुञ्जराहननशरपुञ्ज[8]
राघवसदृश कुञ्ज[9]राजिषु सरस ।
पञ्जरागतशकुन कुञ्ज[10]रावलितरण
पिञ्जराकृतिवदन कञ्जराजितनयन ॥
कान्तकलिका

[८५]

परवारणवारणतारतरं रतरङ्गतरङ्गदनङ्गरसं
गरसङ्गिकलम्बकदम्वशिखं वशिखञ्जनगञ्जनसन्नयनम् ।
नयनन्दित सुन्दरकुन्दरदं दरदण्डितखण्डितराजवलं
जवलम्भितसम्भ्रमभूवलयं बलयन्त्रितकुन्तलकुन्तलवम् ॥
तलबद्धमनोरथवैरिपुरं रिपुरञ्जितपादसरोजनवं
जनबन्धुरबन्धुरसं रमणीरमणीयमनोजमनोरथदम् ।

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१. °चरणशरण पवन° । २. °भिहत° । ३. °रादर° । ४. °तलव° । ५. °राशित° । ६. °राधित° । ७. कुञ्जरा° । ८. °पुञ्ज° । ९. °पुञ्ज° । १०. °कञ्ज° ।

रथदन्तुरितावनि[1]चक्रमनुक्रमनुन्नमहीनमहीनभुजं
न भुजङ्गवृतं न च दम्भरतं भवतं[2] नवमर्णवमर्णबलम् ॥

नवलम्पटकङ्कटवद्भटमुद्भटमुद्भवदद्भुतसद्भवनं
भवनन्दनवन्दनकन्दमयं दमयन्तमनन्तमसन्तमलम् ।

तमलङ्कृतमित्रमहामहिपं महिपङ्कजमापरिभाविपदं
विपदन्त भवन्तमवाप्य धराऽप्यधरायितनाकतला[3] रमते ॥

शूरश्लोकः

[८६]

सुभगमुकुटतटमण्डितमहितल तरलतुरगखुरखण्डितरिपुबल
विजितभुजगभुजभञ्जितभयभर ललितगदित गतगञ्जितगजवर
मणिकरनिकरकरम्बितगृहचय कलिवलितुलितविलम्बित जय जय ॥

वीरविरुदम्

[८७]

दरतुङ्गतुङ्गमृदङ्गगुङ्गुमभङ्गिचङ्गिमगाहिनी
सुयुवत्युरोरुहमत्सरोरुहसत्सरोरुहवाहिनी ।
कचदिव्यसौरभनव्यगौरवभव्यपौरवधूवृता
किमकम्पकाननचम्पकानन[4]झम्पकारिमधुव्रता ॥

गजगर्वतापितखर्वतापित[5]पर्वतानति[6]कुर्वती
शरदभ्रसुन्दरशुभ्रमन्दिरविभ्रमं दरबिभ्रती ।
अनिशं धुतामरसिन्धुचामरबन्धुडामरकेतना
घनधूमवर्तितधूप[7]वर्तितरङ्गनर्तितबर्हिणा ॥

परहृद्विपाटकसत्कपाटकयुग्मनाटकमण्डिता
रिपुभूतसत्पुरुहूततत्पुरहूतितत्परतां गता ।
अरविन्दिनीदलवन्दनीयसदिन्द्रनीलसुजालिका
मणिजातशोभि[8]निजाततोडुसुजाततोरणमालिका ॥

रिपुराजखण्डितदाजिपण्डितवाजिमण्डितमण्डला
शिशुकुन्दकोमलकन्दुकोदयदिन्दुकोटिकुतूहला ।

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१. °वलि° । २. भरतं । ३. °तुला । ४. °कानल° । ५. °नुत° ।
६. °नपि । ७. °धूपवर्तितरङ्ग° । ८. °तोपि° ।

अलकेशवेशनिवेशपेशलदेशदेशलसन्नरा
विजरीहरीति चिरं निरीतिरियं पुरी तव सादरा ।।
कान्तकलिका

[८८]

सौधे सौधे सुधांशुः समुदयति सरोजातसञ्जातसङ्गो
हट्टे हट्टे हिरण्यावनिधरशिखरे तारकाः प्रोल्लसन्ति ।
मूले मूले तरूणां तरुण[1]यति तलि[2]त्तालहिन्दोललीलां
को वै तस्या वयस्याममरपतिपुरीं वर्बरोऽपि ब्रवीतु ।।
शूरश्लोकः

[८९]

जय रतिरमणदमन रिपुखण्डन निरुपम धरणिरमणिमणिमण्डन।
गजगणगहनदहनदहनोदित तरुणवरुण घनविनयविनोदित ।।
अरिपरिचरितचरणसरसीरुह मृदुपरिपरिणमदमरमहीरुह ।
खलदशवदनकदनरघुनन्दन सहृदयहृदयहरणहरिचन्दन ।
अमरसमरसमरणकृतडम्बर हयखरनखरशिखरदलदम्बर ।।
वीरविरुदम्

[९०]

चिकुरमुदिरचयरुचिर कमलजय-
कुशलवदनमयहिमकरवलये ।
चरणपटिमपटपटितकटकतट-
तरलसरलसटसमुदितसुहये ।।
नृपतिविततिरण[3]विपुलविशिखफण-
सुभुजभुजगगण विशरणरसिके ।
वदनकमलवलदभिनवविसदल -
विलस[4]दलिकतलमलयजतिलके ।।
द्विरदजलदमदसलिलनिविलनद -
निवहविहितपदसुललित[5]विहगे ।
गुरुतरमणिसर मुदितमधुपभर-
मुखरशिखरकरसरसिजसुभगे ।।

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१. तरण° । २. तडि° । ३. °वन° । ४. विकस° । ५. °विहित° ।

चरणशरणगतरिपुनृपशतशत -
मुकुटकिरणतत बहुरसवचने ।
चकितहरिणसमपरमतरलतम -
ललितवलितसम[1] सुवितितनयने ।।

रभसविदलदरिविसर[2]रुधिरसरि -
दसमसमरपरिचितमहिमहिले ।
नृहरिनखरखरघनतरशरभर -
विदलदसुरवर[3]समरिपुपटले ।।

विनति[4]शमितशुचिसुचिररुचिररुचि
विनयनिचयशुचिनमुचिभिदुपमे ।
धनुरिह मतिमति भवति वहति सति
विशति गहनमरिततति[5]रतिसुषमे ।।

कान्तकलिका

[९१]

युष्मद्बाहुसुवर्णपादपवरावष्टम्भसम्भाविता
भूमीपाल तमालवल्लिसुभगा निस्त्रिंशवल्ली तव ।
चित्रं शत्रुकबन्धरन्ध्ररुधिराण्यास्वाद्य सद्यःक्षर-
त्क्षीराकारमुदारकीर्तिसुमनःसम्भारमुन्मुञ्चति ।।

शूरश्लोकः

[९२]

अर्चितहहिहर आस्कन्दितपर इष्टजनावक ईहितभावक ।
उन्नतकन्धर अर्जितसिन्धुर ऋणकणखण्डन ॠभवमण्डन ।।
लृचरणसेवन ॡचितसद्गुण एलाकानन ऐहिकमानन ।
ओषधिपतिसम औरसकृतदम अन्तरुदितकृप अःकारितनृप ।।
करकृतसायक खलभयदायक गणपतिसुन्दर घनतरमन्दिर ।
ङचयसुर[6]समय चलदतिरयहय छलबलगञ्जक जगदनुरञ्जक ।।
झरपिबपरजन ञसमर्पितधन टङ्कितपण्डित ठक्कुरमण्डित ।
डमरुरवादृत ढणढणिताहित णहतविपल्लव तलजितपल्लव ।।

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१. °रम° । २. °सरस° । ३. °भर° । ४. °नत° । ५. गग (ह) नत-तिमरि° । ६. °सर°. ।

थतटाहृतगज दलितरिपुव्रज धर्षितदुर्मद नतजनशर्मद ।
परमसभाजित फलकविराजित बलजितसैन्धव भटनट[1]बान्धव ।।
मधुरिमलक्षण यतिरतिरक्षण रणरिङ्गितरथ ललितलसत्कथ ।
वलितविलोचन शत्रुविरोचन पण्ठिसुवत्सर संच्यु[2]तमत्सर
हलधरसमनय क्षमतम जय जय ।।

अक्षमालावि[3]रुदम्

[९३]

जीव श्रीवर[4]वीर वत्सरशतं प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपति-
प्राणप्रीणनपीनपन्नगपतिप्रस्पर्धिकौक्षेयकः ।
किञ्चोच्चैरचलाचि[5]तेयमचला यावत् कलावत्कला-
नीहारद्रवहारविद्रवपटुस्त्वत्कीर्तिरुत्कीर्त्यताम् ।।

आशीः

[९४]

श्रीविश्वेश्वरमिश्रतः कुमुदिनीदेवी कुमारं कुला-
लङ्कारं समवाप यं गणपतिं गौरी गिरीशादिव ।
दौहित्रोऽच्युतठक्कुरस्य कृतिनः श्रीहारिताम्रान्वयः
श्रेष्ठोऽसौ रघुदेवबालककविर्वैदेहभूमण्डनः ।।

[९५]

विद्याहूवमुखं महीपतिमथ श्रीबुद्धिनाथं ततो
लक्ष्मीदेवकुलाधिदेवमहितं श्री[6]मोहनं मोहनम् ।
नत्वा श्रीहरिदेवदेवजनुपं ज्येष्ठं वयोभिर्गुणैः
कृत्वेमां विरुदावलीमिह सदानन्देऽनुजे न्यस्तवान् ।।

इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्यायपण्डितराजविश्रुतश्रुतिधरबालककविमैथिल-
श्रीरघुदेवसरस्वतीविरचिता विरुदावली
समाप्ता[7] ।

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१. °पटु° । २. सच्यु° । ३. °लावीरवि° । ४.° धर° । ५. °लाधि° । ६. °हितश्री° । ७. इति श्रीमैथिलरघुदेवमिश्रकविपण्डितेन्द्रविरचिता विरुदावली समाप्ता । श्रीराधामाधवचरणारविन्दद्वन्द्वं भजे ।

'विवाह'-संस्कृत रूपकों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में

डा० बापूलाल आञ्जना
गोरखपुर

प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने संस्कृत रूपकों में प्रसंगशात् यत्र तत्र वर्णित गृहस्थाश्रम की महत्ता, विवाह के नाना प्रकार और उसकी विधियों से सम्बद्ध स्थलों पर प्रकाश डाला है। लेख शास्त्रों और रूपकों में वर्णित विवाह-विधियों का तुलनात्मक एवं रोचक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत करता है।

गृहस्थाश्रम का महत्त्व :—क्रम की दृष्टि से गृहस्थाश्रम द्वितीयाश्रम के रूप में आता है, किन्तु महत्व की दृष्टि से यह प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त करता है। गृहस्थ की स्थिति अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण थी। यदि यह कहा जाय कि सारा समाज इसी आश्रम की धुरी पर स्थित है तो कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। रामायण में गृहस्थाश्रम को सर्वश्रेष्ठ आश्रम कहा गया है—"**चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां हि गार्हस्थ्यं श्रेष्ठमुत्तमम्।**"[1] स्वयं रामायण गृहस्थाश्रम का ही आदि काव्य है। उपनिषदों व आरण्यकों में यदि वानप्रस्थाश्रम का गौरवगान है तो रामायण गृहस्थाश्रम की महाप्रशस्ति है। वह इसी को आध्यात्मिक कल्याण का साधन मानती है"।[2] सब आश्रमों में गृहस्थाश्रम श्रेष्ठ है क्योंकि वह सर्वोपकारक्षम है, अर्थात् उस आश्रम में मनुष्य को सब प्राणियों पर उपकार भाव दिखलाने का अवसर प्राप्त होता है।[3] समस्त हिन्दू-धर्मशास्त्र ने भी जो गृहस्थाश्रम का गुणगान किया है, उसका कारण यह है कि गृहस्थ ही अन्य आश्रमों की आधारशिला था[4] और वह ही समाज के कल्याण में प्रत्यक्ष योग देता था।

विवाह :—ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम की समाप्ति पर युवक स्नातक विवाह करके गृहस्थाश्रम में प्रवेश करता था। यद्यपि विवाह संस्कार पुरुष व स्त्री दोनों के लिए ही अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण था तथापि स्त्री के लिए यही एक समंत्रक था। स्त्रियों के लिए

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१. वाल्मीकि रामायण, २, १०६, २२
२. शांति कुमार नानूराम व्यास, रामायणकालीन समाज पृ० ९४
३. (क) द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते। रघुवंश ५, १०
(ख) अध्याक्रान्ता वसतिरमुनाऽप्याश्रमे सर्वभोग्ये"। अभिज्ञान शाकु०, २, १४
४. मनुस्मृति ६।२७, २८

अन्य संस्कारों में मन्त्रोच्चारण का विधान नहीं था[५]। पुरुष को गार्हस्थ्य-कर्म की पूर्ण आधिकारिकता विवाह संस्कार द्वारा ही प्राप्त होती थी।

महाकवि भास के युग में कन्या-विवाह की समस्या अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण थी। विवाहविधि को संपन्न कराने के लिए माता-पिता चिन्तित दिखलाई पड़ते हैं। **प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण** में प्रद्योत अपनी पट्टमहिषी के साथ वासवदत्ता के विवाह के लिए तथा **अविमारक** में राजकुमारी कुरंगी के माता-पिता उसके विवाह के लिए चिन्तित दिखाये गए हैं।[६] राजाओं को राज कन्या के विवाह की निरन्तर चिन्ता रहती थी।[७] राजकन्या के विवाह के लिए विभिन्न राजकुलों से प्रतिदिन दूत आते रहते थे।[८] वर के लिए कुलीनता, दयालुता, गौरव, सौन्दर्य, उदग्रवीर्य, प्रजावात्सल्य आदि गुण आवश्यक थे।[९]

अन्तर्जातीय विवाह :—राजकुल में सामान्यतया सवर्ण व सजातीय विवाह ही होते थे। पर राजाओं में अन्तर्जातीय विवाह के उदाहरण भी प्राप्त होते हैं। **मालविकाग्निमित्र** में भी रानी धारिणी के सौतेले भाई वीरसेन के लिए 'वर्णावरो भ्राता' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है,[१०] जिससे यह स्पष्ट है कि वह क्षत्रिय पिता तथा वैश्या या शूद्रामाता से संभव संतान था। **मालविकाग्निमित्र** में शुङ्गवंशी ब्राह्मण अग्निमित्र ने क्षत्रियकन्या मालविका से विवाह किया था। **अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल** में राजा शकुन्तला को देखकर आशंका करता है—"अपि नाम **कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात्**"।[११] इससे एक ओर अनुलोम विवाह का अनुमोदन व दूसरी ओर प्रतिलोम विवाह का निषेध स्पष्ट हो जाता है। क्षत्रिय राजकुमारी शांता और ब्राह्मण ऋष्यश्रृंग का विवाह अनुलोम विवाह का उदाहरण है।[१२] **रामायण** के अनुसार श्रवण के पिता वैश्य और माता शूद्रा थी।[१३] **मृच्छकटिक** के नायक ब्राह्मण चारुदत्त ने वेश्या वसन्तसेना से विवाह किया था तथा उसी नाटक के चोर ब्राह्मण शर्विलक ने

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५. अमंत्रिका तु कार्येयं स्त्रीणामावृदशेषतः।—मनुस्मृति
६. (क) प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण, अंक २
   (ख) अविमारक, अंक १
७. कन्या पितुर्हि सततम् बहुचिन्तनीयम्। अविमारक, १.२
८. प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण, २। पृ० ४३-४४
९. वही, २.४
१०. अस्ति देव्या वर्णावरो भ्रातावीरसेनो नाम। (माल०, अंक १, विष्कम्भक)
११. अभि० शाकु०, अंक १, पृ० ५८
१२. उत्तररामचरित, प्रथम अंक, पृ० १२
१३. रामायण २-६३-५०

उसी वेश्या की दासी मदनिका से। ये दोनों भी अनुलोम विवाह के उदाहरण हैं। **हास्यार्णव** प्रहसन में भी गुरु-शिष्यों का विवाह वेश्या तथा वेश्यामाता के साथ दिखाया गया है (पृ० ८५)। क्षत्रिय ययाति और ब्राह्मण देवयानी का संबंध प्रतिलोम विवाह का उदाहरण है।[१४] इससे प्रकट होता है यद्यपि सवर्ण विवाह सहज और स्वाभाविक रहे हों, असवर्ण विवाहों का भी समाज में अभाव नहीं था।

विवाह के प्रकार :

स्मृतियों में विवाह के आठ प्रकार बताए गए हैं।[१५] ब्राह्म विवाह उसे कहते हैं, जिसमें कन्यादाता योग्य वर को बुलाकर उसे वस्त्र आदि देकर तथा सत्कार करके कन्यादान करता है। **'स्वप्नवासवदत्ता'**[१६] में पद्मावती और उदयन का विवाह ब्राह्म विवाह है। यह विवाह समाज में आदर की दृष्टि से देखा जाता था। **पञ्चरात्र**[१७] में विराट नरेश अपनी कन्या उत्तरा का विवाह अर्जुन के साथ करना चाहते हैं, पर अर्जुन उनके इस प्रस्ताव को अस्वीकार करके अभिमन्यु के साथ वैवाहिक स्वीकृति देते हैं। तब समस्त राजाओं को आमंत्रित करके अग्निसाक्ष्यपूर्वक विवाह संपन्न होता है। इसी तरह **अविमारक**[१८] में जयवर्मा और सुमित्रा के विवाह को भी ब्राह्म विवाह ही कहा जाना चाहिए। **नागानन्द**[१९] में संपन्न हुआ जीमूतवाहन व मलयवती का विवाह भी ब्राह्म विवाह ही है। उन दोनों ही विवाहों में वस्त्राभूषणों से अलंकृत कन्याएँ विद्या-प्रवीण एवं आचारशील वर को आमंत्रित कर वैदिक विधि से प्रदान की गई हैं।

प्राजापत्य विवाह : जहाँ कन्यादाता कन्यादान करते समय वर-वधू दोनों को संबोधित करके यह वाक्य कहता है कि तुम दोनों साथ-साथ धर्माचरण करो, इस तरह के विवाह को प्राजापत्य विवाह कहा गया है। इसे हम श्रीराम व सीता के परिणय में

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१४. रुद्रदेव, ययातिचरित, भाण्डारकर ओरियण्टल इंस्टीट्यूट से प्रकाशित; द्र० मध्यकालीन संस्कृत नाटक, पृ० २००

१५. (क) मनु०, ३-२७-३४, नारदस्मृति, १२-३९-४१
(ख) द्र० धर्मशास्त्र का इतिहास, प्र० भा०, पृ० २९६-२९९
(ग) द्र० डा० वि० चं० पाण्डेय, भारतवर्ष का सामाजिक इतिहास, पृ० १४१-१५९

१६. स्वप्नवासवदत्ता, अंक ३ व ४

१७. पञ्चरात्र, ३·७१ व ३·२३

१८. अविमारक, १६४, १६७

१९. नागानन्द, पृ० ५८

देख सकते हैं। जनक ने सीता को सब तरह के आभूषणों से सज्जित कर श्रीराम को सहधर्मचरी के रूप में अर्पित किया था। इसमें कन्या का पिता वर का समुचित सत्कार कर दोनों को धर्माचरण में सहयोगी बनने को प्रवृत्त करता है। गुप्तकालीन तथा उससे पूर्व की स्मृतियाँ प्राजापत्य विवाह को ही वस्तुतः आदर्श मानती हैं। महाकवि कालिदास ने रघुवंश व कुमारसंभव में क्रमशः अज व इन्दुमती तथा शिव व उमा के विवाह को इसी पद्धति से संपन्न किया है।[२०]

शङ्कर मिश्र के गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन में गौरी व दिगम्बर शिव के विवाह के संबंध में विस्तार से इस पद्धति को प्रस्तुत किया गया है।[२१]

गांधर्व विवाह : कन्या और वर के पारस्परिक प्रेम के आधार पर होने वाला विवाह गांधर्व विवाह कहलाता है।[२२] इसमें दोनों पक्षों के गुरुजनों की स्वीकृति आवश्यक नहीं थी। "अविमारक" में कुरंगी और अविमारक दोनों एक दूसरे के रूप-गुणों में आसक्त होकर गुरुजनों की आज्ञा प्राप्त किये बिना गांधर्व विधि से विवाह संपन्न कर लेते हैं। इसका दूसरा उदाहरण उदयन व वासवदत्ता का प्रेम विवाह है। उदयन वासवदत्ता को वीणा वादन की शिक्षा देता है और इसी बीच दोनों में परस्पर प्रेमाकर्षण हो जाने से वे गांधर्व-विवाह कर लेते हैं। महाकवि कालिदास के अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल से जान पड़ता है कि गांधर्व-विवाह तत्कालीन समाज में अभिनंदित था।[२३] दुष्यन्त-शकुन्तला और पुरूरवा-उर्वशी के विवाह इसी विधि से संपन्न हुए थे। डा० राजबली पाण्डेय ने शाकुन्तल का दृष्टान्त देते हुए इस विधि से संपन्न हुए विवाहों को बहुत सुखद नहीं माना है क्योंकि वासना इस प्रकार के विवाहों का आधार है जो जीवन का क्षणिक तत्त्व है। डा० भगवत्शरण उपाध्याय[२४] के मत में महाकवि कालिदास इस प्रकार के विवाह को मान्यता नहीं देते थे उन्होंने उसे मात्र प्राचीन घटित घटना के रूप में, कथा के प्रसंगवश स्वीकार किया है। उन्होंने उसका प्रतिकार एक पात्र के मुख से निम्नलिखित रूप में व्यक्त किया है—"इसने (शकुन्तला ने) अपने गुरुजनों की अपेक्षा नहीं की, न तुमने अपने ज्ञातियों से कुछ पूछा। तुम दोनों के परस्पर के इस कार्य पर मैं तुम दोनों में से प्रत्येक को क्या कहूँ।[२५]

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२०. रघुवंश, सर्ग ६-७; कुमारसंभव, सर्ग ६-७

२१. गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन, पृ० २५-३२

२२. मनु०, ३०. ३२

२३. गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः।
श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्चाभिनन्दिताः ॥ अभि० शाकु०, ३, २१

२४. गुप्तकाल का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास, पृ० २०९

२५. नापेक्षितो गुरुजनोऽनया त्वया पृष्टो न बन्धुजनः।
एकैकस्य च चरिते भणामि किमेकैकम् ॥ अभि० शाकु०, ५, १६

डा० उपाध्याय का मत है कि कालिदास ने गान्धर्व विवाह के दुष्परिणाम दिखाए हैं। पांचवें अंक में जब राजा ने शकुन्तला का त्याग कर दिया तो वे शार्ङ्गरव के माध्यम से कहलाते हैं :—

'अतः परीक्ष्य कर्त्तव्यं विशेषात्संगतं रहः ।
अज्ञातहृदयेष्वेवं वैरीभवति सौहृदम् ।।[२६]

डा० वी० वी० मिराशी[२७] ने इस विवेचन से अलग ही सत्यता को देखने का प्रयत्न किया है। उनके अनुसार प्रीतिविवाह की ओर से कवि की उदासीनता नहीं थी। उर्वशी व शकुन्तला पर प्रीतिविवाह के बाद घोर विपत्ति आई यह तो सत्य है किन्तु इसका कारण प्रणय-विवाह न होकर शकुन्तला व उर्वशी के जीवन की भवितव्यता ही थी। महाकवि ने अपने इन दोनों नाटकों में यह दिखाया है कि वाह्यसौन्दर्य पर टिका प्रेम स्थायी नहीं होता।

आसुर विवाह :—प्रतिमा[२८] नाटक में दशरथ व कैकेयी के विवाह का कथन प्राप्त होता है। केकय देश के राजा ने दशरथ से अपनी कन्या इस शर्त पर व्याही थी कि उसके पुत्र को उत्तराधिकारी बनाएँगे। अतएव कैकेयी व दशरथ के विवाह को आसुर विवाह माना जायेगा। वर से शुल्क या धन लेकर कन्या व्याहने को आसुर विवाह कहा गया है। इस प्रकार का विवाह इस देश में सभी कालों में किसी न किसी मात्रा में प्रचलित रहा है। अतः भास और कालिदास[२९] के युग में प्रचलित रहा हो तो कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं थी।

स्वयंवर विवाह :—उरुभंग[३०] में आए स्वयंवर के उल्लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि राजकुल में स्वयंवर रीति से विवाह संपन्न होते थे। प्राचीन भारत में स्वयंवर की दो प्रणालियाँ प्रचलित थीं—एक तो वह, जिसमें वधू एक नियत स्थान पर इकट्ठे हुए वरों में से अपनी रुचि के पति को चुन लेती है, दूसरी वह जिसमें पूर्व निर्धारित शर्तों को पूरा करने वाला ही कन्या पाणिग्रहण का अधिकारी होता है। सीता का स्वयंवर दूसरी विधि से संपन्न हुआ था। इसमें वधू की स्वतन्त्र इच्छा

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२६. अभि० शाकु०, ३५, २४
२७. कालिदास, पृ० २४२, ४३
२८. शुल्के विपणितं राज्यं पुत्रार्थे यदि याच्यते ।
तस्य लोभोऽत्र नास्माकं भ्रातृराज्यापहारिणाम् ।। प्रतिमा, १, १५
२९. महाकवि कालिदास ने रघुवंश में एक स्थल पर आसुर विवाह की ओर संकेत किया है—
एवं विचिन्त्य च धनुर्दुरानमं पीडितो दुहितृशुल्कसंस्थया । रघु०, ११, ३८
३०. युद्धे एव सरसां स्वयंवरसभां शौर्यप्रतिष्ठां नृणाम् । उरुभंग, १, ४

को कोई महत्व प्राप्त न था। जो कोई भी वीर नियत शर्तों का भलीभाँति पालन कर लेता है, वधू उसी को वरमाला पहनाने को बाध्य थी। इस प्रकार के स्वयंवरों में निर्धारित शर्तों की पहले से ही घोषणा कर दी जाती थी। यह स्वयंवर प्रथा **रामायण** व **महाभारत** के युगों से उसी रूप में चली आ रही थी। संस्कृत नाटकों में भी इस प्रकार के स्वयंवरों का बहुधा वर्णन हुआ है।[३१] राजशेखर के **बालभारत**[३२] (**प्रचण्डपाण्डव**) व विजयपाल के "द्रौपदी स्वयंवर" में द्रोपदी के स्वयंवर का विस्तृत वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। इसे भी हम सीता-स्वयंवर की कोटि में ही रख सकते हैं क्योंकि इसमें भी पूर्व निर्धारित शर्तों की पहले से ही घोषणा कर दी गयी थी।[३३] इस प्रकार के स्वयंवरों में कन्या की अपेक्षा पिता का ही प्रभाव अधिक था; वही 'धनुर्विद्या में कुशलता' जैसे मापदण्डों के आधार पर पुत्री के लिए वर का चुनाव करता था। इस स्वयंवर को रूढ़ अर्थ में स्वतंत्र रूप से पति-वरण समझना ठीक प्रतीत नहीं होता।

स्वयंवर का दूसरा प्रकार वह था जिसमें वधू स्वेच्छा से वर का चुनाव करती थी। रामचन्द्र के **नलविलास**[३४] और हस्तिमल्ल के **विक्रान्तकौरव**[३५] व **अञ्जना-पवनञ्जय**[३६] में इसी प्रकार के स्वयंवर विवाह की चर्चा आयी है। इन तीन नाटकों में स्वयंवर का अभिप्राय स्वयंवरण (स्वेच्छापूर्वक पति चुन लेना) था।[३७]

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३१. रामकथा पर आधारित प्रायः सभी नाटकों में सीता के स्वयंवर का प्रसंग अतीव रोचकता से प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

३२. बाल भारत या प्रचण्डपांडव, अंक १।

३३. इह हि सदसि राधां यः शरव्यां करोति
स्मरविजयपताकाद्रोपदी तत्कलत्रम्। प्रचण्ड पांडव, १, ३२

३४. द्र० डा० रामजी उपाध्याय, मध्यकालीन संस्कृत नाटक, पृ० १५९-१६१

३५. सं० पन्नालाल जैन, चौखम्बा से प्रकाशित, १९६९

(अ) स्वयंवरे प्राप्य सपुष्पमालां तया समं यातु जयः स्वदेशम्।
त्वां रत्नमाला गुणरत्नराशिं संवाहयत्वर्ध्यमसावनर्घां॥
विक्रान्तकौरव, ५, १८

(आ) सुलोचना स्वीक्रियतां च तस्याः स्वयं वृत्तेन प्रथमं वरेण।
विक्रान्त कौरव, ३, ४७

३६. सं० वासुदेव पटवर्धन, मणिकचन्द्रदिगम्बरजैनग्रन्थालय समिति, बम्बई—४ से प्रकाशित १९५०

३७. महाकवि कालिदास के रघुवंश में इन्दुमती के स्वयंवर का जो विस्तार से वर्णन किया गया है, वह भी इसी प्रकार का था। द्र० रघुवंश, सर्ग ५-६

साथ ही इन स्वयंवरों के वर्णन से यह जान पड़ता है कि उन दिनों ये (स्वयंवर) विशाल, वैभवपूर्ण, राजकीय महोत्सव हुआ करते थे जिनका प्रचार क्षत्रिय राजाओं-महाराजाओं के वर्ग तक ही सीमित था।[३८] हस्तिमल्ल के चार रूपकों में स्वयंवर विवाह की चर्चा से यह निष्कर्ष निकालना अनुचित नहीं होगा कि मध्ययुगीन राजाओं में स्वयंवर विवाह की प्रथा बहुलता से प्रचलित थी। आधुनिक काल के कुछ रूपकों में स्वयंवर के वर्णन प्राप्त होते हैं।[३९] अतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि सभी कालों में स्वयंवर प्रथा किसी न किसी रूप में अवश्य प्रचलित रही है।

स्वयंवर के प्रारम्भिक रूप का उल्लेख बौधायन धर्मसूत्र, वसिष्ठ धर्मसूत्र तथा मनुस्मृति में उपलब्ध होता है। इन साक्ष्यों के अनुसार यदि पिता अपनी वयस्था कन्या के लिए तीन वर्ष तक पति न प्राप्त कर सके तो वह स्वयं अपने लिए पति का वरण कर सकती है।[४०] शूरकर्मा क्षत्रियों के लिए दान के रूप में कन्या ग्रहण करना अरुचिकर था। अतः वे दीर्घकाल तक ब्राह्म विवाह अस्वीकृत करते रहे। इस विरोध को नष्ट करने के लिए ही यह आवश्यक था कि कोई मध्यवर्ती प्रणाली विकसित व प्रसारित होती, जिसमें क्षत्रियों के शौर्य्य का प्रदर्शन, कन्याओं की अभिरुचि का आदर तथा पिता का उत्तरदायित्व सब न्यूनाधिक रूप से संयुक्त होते। इन आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिए समाज में राक्षस, गान्धर्व व ब्राह्म विवाह की प्रणालियों को मिला कर एक नवीन प्रणाली "स्वयंवर विवाह" के रूप में प्रचलित हुई।[४१] संस्कृत के जिन नाटकों में स्वयंवर विवाह के वर्णन प्राप्त होते हैं उनमें भी हम राक्षस, गांधर्व, ब्राह्म या प्राजापत्य इन तीनों वैवाहिक पद्धतियों का सम्मिश्रण पाते हैं। **विक्रान्तकौरव** में सुलोचना स्वयंवर में जयकुमार का वरण करती है। तत्पश्चात उस स्वयंवर में एकत्र हुए सारे राजागण जयकुमार पर आक्रमण कर देते हैं तथा जयकुमार उन सब

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३८. गौरीदिगम्बरप्रहसन में वर्णित है कि ब्राह्मणों का स्वयंवर नहीं होता था। नंदी—"ब्राह्मणस्यापि स्वयंग्राह इति भवदुपज्ञेयं किंवदन्ती"। गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन, पृ० २३

३९. पं० श्रीकृष्णमणि त्रिपाठी, सावित्रीनाटकम्
डा० वी० राघवन्, 'लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरम्'
कालिपद्तर्काचार्य, 'नलदमयन्तीयम्'

४०. बौधायन धर्मसूत्र ४, १, १३; वसिष्ठ धर्मसूत्र १७, ६७-६८; मनु० ९, ९०

४१. डा० वि० चं० पांडेय; प्राचीन भारत का सामाजिक इतिहास, पृ० १५६

राजाओं को परास्त करता है, अन्त में जयकुमार व सुलोचना का विवाह प्राजापत्य विधि से संपन्न किया जाता है।[४२]

राक्षस विवाह :—इस अधर्म्य विवाह प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत कन्या का अपहरण होता है। यह प्रणाली भी पूर्व-ऐतिहासिक काल की ही विदित होती है। जब स्त्रियाँ युद्ध में प्राप्त अन्य सामग्रियों के समान समझी जाती थीं। राक्षसों की भाँति क्रूर कर्मों की अपेक्षा होने के कारण ही इस विवाह का नाम राक्षस-विवाह था। इस नामकरण से तो प्रारंभ में यह प्रथा श्लाघनीय नहीं समझी जाती थी। किन्तु धीरे-धीरे यह अपहरण शूरकर्मा के लिए गौरव की वस्तु बन गया और यह उचित समझी जाने लगी। इसे श्लाघनीय बनाने के लिए 'क्षात्र-विवाह' (महाभारत, १३, ४४, १० बं० प्र०) जैसा शिष्ट अभिधान भी दिया गया। यह क्षत्रियों में विशेष रूप से प्रचलित हुई। मनु ने राक्षस विवाह को धर्म्य विवाह माना है।[४३] किन्तु नारद ने धर्म के प्रतिकूल कहकर निंद्य कोटि में रखा है।[४४] सुभद्राहरण नाटक में मनु का समर्थन करते हुए राक्षस विवाह को क्षत्रियों के लिए प्रशस्त कहा गया है।[४५] कुलशेखर के सुभद्राधनञ्जय[४६] व माधवभट्ट के सुभद्राहरण[४७] इन दो रूपकों में अर्जुन के द्वारा सुभद्रा का अपहरण किया जाता है।[४८] इनसे ज्ञात होता है कि सुभद्रा भी अर्जुन में अनुरक्त थी। इस नाटक[४९] तथा महाभारत के साक्ष्य[५०] से विदित होता है कि श्रीकृष्ण ने इस कार्य का समर्थन किया तथा इस विवाह को पूर्णरूपेण क्षत्रियोचित व धर्मविहित बतलाया। मध्यकाल में विदेशी आक्रमणों से त्रस्त भारतीय समाज के सामने अर्जुन, भीम सदृश आदर्श क्षत्रियों के उदाहरणों को रखने के लिए नाटककारों ने इस प्रकार के रूपकों

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४२. विक्रान्तकौरव, अंक ६

४३. मनुस्मृति, ३, २५

४४. नारदस्मृति, १२, ४५; जाली का अनुवाद

४५. क्षत्रियाणां विवाहस्तु प्रशस्तो राक्षसः स्मृतौ।
श्रुतौ मातुलकन्या च परिणेयेति दृश्यते ।। सुभद्राहरण, ३९

४६. त्रिवेन्द्रम् संस्कृत सीरिज—१३ से प्रकाशित। इसकी प्रति सरस्वती भवन पुस्तकालय, उदयपुर में प्राप्त है।

४७. चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरिज, वाराणसी से प्रकाशित, १९६२

४८. सुभद्राहरण, पृ० ३२

४९. वही, श्लोक ३७ व ३८

५०. महाभारत, १, २४५, ६ (बं० प्र०)
क्षत्रियाणान्तु वीर्येण प्रशस्तं हरणं बलात्।
अतः प्रशस्तं हृतवान् कन्यां धर्मेण पाण्डवः ।।

की रचना की थी जिनमें राक्षस-विवाह भी धर्म्य माना गया था।[५१] नाटककारों का मुख्य उद्देश्य था क्षत्रियोचित शूरता को प्रशस्त करना।

संस्कृत नाटकों में देवविवाह तथा पैशाच[५२] विवाह विधियों के उल्लेख नहीं प्राप्त होते। देवविवाह में पिता किसी यज्ञ के समय अपनी अलंकृता कन्या को यज्ञ कराने वाले किसी पुरोहित को अर्पित कर देता था।[५३] ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वैदिक यज्ञों के अंत होने के साथ ही इस वैवाहिक विधि का प्रचलन भी समाप्त हो गया था। पैशाच विवाह का अधर्म्य विवाहों में निकृष्टतम स्थान था। इसमें व्यक्ति सुषुप्त, अचेतन अथवा प्रमत्त कन्या से संभोग करता था। विवाह के उच्च लक्ष्यों-प्रजाप्राप्ति एवं धार्मिक क्रियाओं का इसमें सर्वथा अभाव था। अतः इसका अस्तित्व भी बहुत पहले से ही लुप्त हो चुका था।

विवाह के प्रथम चार प्रकार (ब्राह्म, दैव, आर्ष व प्राजापत्य) ब्राह्मणों के लिए उपयुक्त माने गए।[५४] अन्तिम चार प्रकार (गांधर्व, आसुर, राक्षस व पैशाच) वैश्यों व शूद्रों के लिए थे।[५५] यदि हम इस धर्मशास्त्रीय व्यवस्था के आधार पर संस्कृत नाटकों में आई विवाह-विधियों पर दृष्टिपात करें तो सहज ही प्रतीत हो जाता है कि इस विधान का पालन सामान्य रूप से हो रहा था। दैव तथा आर्ष-विवाह जैसा कि ऊपर कहा जा चुका है, वैदिक यज्ञों के साथ ही समाप्त हो गए। अतः ब्राह्मणों के लिए ब्राह्म व प्राजापत्य ये दो ही विधियाँ शेष रह गयी थीं। अधर्म्य व निन्द्य पैशाच-विवाह का अस्तित्व बहुत पहले ही लुप्त हो गया था। दशरथ व कैकेयी का आसुर-विवाह एक अपवाद मात्र है क्योंकि संपूर्ण संस्कृत नाट्य साहित्य में ऐसा और कोई उदाहरण नहीं प्राप्त होता। किसी समय क्षत्रियों में आसुर विवाह अवश्य प्रचलित रहा होगा, पर कालान्तर में वह वैश्यों व शूद्रों के लिए ही रह गया

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५१. इस विषय को आधार बनाकर कई रूपकों की रचना की गई। केशव शास्त्री का सुभद्रार्जुन, रामदेव का सुभद्रापरिणय, वेङ्कटाध्वरी, नल्लाकवि व रघुनाथाचार्य का सुभद्रापरिणय, नाटकों के अतिरिक्त चम्पुओं की रचना भी इस प्रकरण पर हुई। द्र० मध्यकालीन संस्कृत नाटक, पृ० १०१; ३८७

५२. पैशाच विवाह का संकेत गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन में प्राप्त होता है, जिसके अनुसार यह पिशाच जाति से संबंधित था।
पिशाची—अरे ! पिशाचानां विवाहवृत्तान्तमद्य ज्ञास्यन्ति चेटिकाः।
गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन, पृ० ३४

५३. बौधायन ध० सू०, १, ११, ५

५४. वही, १, ११, १०

५५. मनु०, ३, २२

अतः क्षत्रियों के लिए गांधर्व और राक्षस ये दो ही विधियाँ शेष रह गयी थीं।[५६] ब्राह्म तथा प्राजापत्य विवाह वास्तव में एक ही प्रणाली के दो नाम हैं, इनमें विशेष अन्तर नहीं है। स्वयंवर विवाह जैसा कि पहले स्पष्ट किया जा चुका है, राक्षस, गांधर्व व प्राजापत्य प्रणालियों का सम्मिश्रित रूप है। संस्कृत नाटकों के उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत करने में विशेष कठिनाई नहीं प्रतीत होती कि समाज में धीरे-धीरे ब्राह्म या प्राजापत्य विवाह का सर्वतोमुखी प्रतिपादन होने लगा था। वैवाहिक विधि चाहे जो भी हो—राक्षस विवाह, स्वयंवर विवाह अथवा गांधर्व विवाह—उसका अवसान प्रायः प्राजापत्य विवाह में होता था। **प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण**[५७] में उदयन द्वारा बलपूर्वक वासवदत्ता का अपहरण किया जाता है। वह महासेन को पराजित कर वासवदत्ता को वत्स देश में ले जाता है। महासेन वासवदत्ता व उदयन का चित्र एक चित्रपट पर बनाकर विवाह विधि को संपन्न करवाता है।[५८] **सुभद्रापरिणय** में अर्जुन सुभद्रा का अपहरण करते हैं, अन्त में कृष्ण द्वारा उनका विवाह विधिपूर्वक किया जाता है।[५९] **विक्रान्तकौरव** में सुलोचना जयकुमार का स्वयं वरण करती है, तत्पश्चात् प्राजापत्य-विधि से उनका विवाह होता है। संस्कृत नाटकों में वैश्यों व शूद्रों के विवाहों की तो विशेष जानकारी नहीं प्राप्त होती। क्षत्रियों व ब्राह्मणों के विवाह अधिकांशतः प्राजापत्य व ब्राह्म विधि से ही होते थे। क्षत्रिय युद्ध काल या शौर्य प्रदर्शनार्थ राक्षस-विवाह या स्वयंवर विवाह करते थे जिसका अवसान प्राजापत्य विधि में होता था। शांतिकाल में वे गांधर्व विवाह भी करते थे। इस विधि के मूल में भी उनके प्रजाकाम (सन्तानप्राप्ति) व सहधर्माचरण जैसे धार्मिक उद्देश्य निहित थे।[६०] जैसा कि **गौरीदिगम्बर** प्रहसन में शिव व पार्वती के ब्राह्म विवाह के वर्णन के प्रसंग से ज्ञात होता है कि ब्राह्मणों का विवाह एक मात्र प्राजापत्य या ब्राह्म विधि से ही

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५६. मनु ने भी क्षत्रियों के लिए इन्हीं दो विधियों का विशेष रूप से उल्लेख किया है। मनु०, ३, २६

५७. प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण, अंक ४

५८. स्वप्नवासवदत्ता, पृ० २१२

५९. अयं किल धनञ्जयः सुभद्रया सस्पृहं विवाहविधयेऽधुना विशति वासुदेवालयम् ॥ सुभद्रापरिणय, श्लोक ५४।

६०. द्र० अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल में दुष्यन्त व शकुन्तला के; विक्रमोर्वशीय में पुरूरवा व उर्वशी के; तपतीसंवरण में संवरण व तपती के गांधर्व विवाहों में सन्तान प्राप्ति व सहधर्माचरण किसी न किसी रूप में अवश्य निहित था। अविमारक में अविमारक व कुरंगी के गांधर्व विवाह की बात जानकर भी कुरंगी का पिता उनका "अग्नि साक्षिक विवाह" करवाता है। अविमारक, पृ० १६३

होता था। स्वयंवर जैसी विधि उनमें कथमपि प्रचलित नहीं थी।[६१] प्रचण्डपाण्डव में भी स्वयंवर विधि एकमात्र क्षत्रियों के लिए ही बतायी गयी।

रे रे ब्राह्मण ! मुञ्च विप्लवमिमं श्रुत्यर्थवीथीं स्मर।
क्षत्रस्याध ननु स्वयंवरविधावेकाधिकारः स्थितः ॥
प्रचण्डपाण्डव, १, ८२ (चौ० सं०)

सगोत्र विवाह :—हिन्दू विवाह में गोत्र का ध्यान प्राचीन काल से रखा जाता रहा है। हिन्दू धर्मशास्त्रों में सगोत्र विवाह निन्द्य माना गया[६२] अतः क्रमशः पूर्णरूपेण निषिद्ध हो गया। मनु ने सगोत्रा कन्या से विवाह करने वाले को नरकगामी कहा है।[६३] संस्कृत नाटकों में इस धर्मशास्त्रीय विधान का पालन किया गया है।

सपिण्ड विवाह :—हिन्दू विवाह में सपिण्डता का भी निषेध किया गया है।[६४] सपिण्डा वह है जिसमें समान पिण्ड (अर्थात् एक ही शरीरांश) हो। गौतम के अनुसार सात व पाँच (पिता की सात व माता की पाँच) पीढ़ी के बाद सपिण्डता से निवृत्ति मिलती है।[६५] गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन[६६] के साक्ष्य से कहा जा सकता है कि किसी भी विवाह विधि में सगोत्र, सप्रवर व सपिण्ड संबंध का अच्छी तरह विचार किया जाता था। सगोत्रा, या सपिण्ड कन्या से विवाह करना निंद्य समझा गया था। किसी भी कन्यादाता के लिए वर के सपिण्डा, सगोत्र आदि जाने बिना उसके साथ अपनी कन्या का विवाह करना अपयश अर्जित करना था।[६७] साथ ही जो वर सगोत्रा कन्या को वधू रूप में ग्रहण करता; वह अपने परलोक को ही नष्ट कर देने वाला था।[६८]

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६१. नन्दी—ब्राह्मणस्यापि स्वयंग्राह इति भवदुपज्ञेयं किंवदन्ती।
गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन, पृ० २३

६२. मनु०, ३, ५; याज्ञ० ३, ५३।

६३. मनु०, ११, १७१-७२

६४. मनु०, ३, ५

६५. गौ० ध० सू० १, ४, १३
पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पंचमे वा। (हरदत्त की टीका सहित)
आनन्दाश्रम संस्कृत सीरिज, १९१०

६६. गौरीदिगम्बर प्रहसन, श्लोक २६; पृ०, ३०; ३१-३२।

६७. वही, पृ० २८

६८. ·······असौ नष्टपरलोकः समानगोत्रां कन्यां कथं स्वीकरिष्यति।
वही, पृ० ३०

विवाह-विधि :—संस्कृत के कुछ नाटकों से जान पड़ता है कि विवाह-संस्कार विस्तृत शास्त्रीय विधि से किया जाता था। विवाह की रीति-रस्म, जो 'वैवाहिका-विधि',[६९] विवाहमङ्गल,[७०] कहलाती थी, मंगल घड़ी में ही संपन्न होती थी। उसमें शुभ नक्षत्र और मुहूर्त का विशेष ध्यान रखा जाता था।[७१]

तापसवत्सराज में विवाह के लिए 'विजय' नामक मुहूर्त (योग) को उपयुक्त बताया है।[७२]

अशुभ योग में संपन्न हुए विवाहों में वैधव्य आदि दोषों का निश्चित रहना माना गया था।[७३] ज्येष्ठा नक्षत्र में शनैश्चर के रहने पर धनुप लग्न में विवाह विधि संपन्न हो जाने पर वधू के लिए वैधव्य की पूरी संभावना की जाती थी।[७४] अतः मुहूर्तकोविदों[७५] या दैवज्ञों[७६] (ज्योतिषियों) को बुलाकर शुभ मुहूर्त तय करवाया जाता था।[७७] हस्तिमल्ल ने कुछ इस प्रकार का शुभ मुहूर्त विवाह के लिए उत्तम माना है जिसमें शुभग्रहों से युक्त केन्द्र—लग्नचन्द्र के मध्यगत चार स्थानों से सुशोभित है, जिसमें अशुभ ग्रह तीसरे छठे स्थान में स्थित हैं तथा जो जामित्र—लग्न-नक्षत्र से चतुर्थ नक्षत्र की विशुद्धि से युक्त है।[७८]

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६९. गौरीदिगम्बरप्रहसन, पृ० २७; हनुमन्नाटक, १, ५८
७०. नागानन्द, अंक ३, पृ० ६२
७१. (क) अद्यैव खलु गुणवन्नक्षत्रम्। अद्यैव विवाहोऽस्य प्रवर्तताम्।
पञ्चरात्र, पृ० १२१ (मो० व०, १९६८)
(ख) अद्यैव किलशोभनं, अद्यैव कौतुकमंगलं कर्त्तव्यम्........।
स्वप्नवासवदत्ता, पृ० ८२ (रा० वे०)
(ग) अविमारक, पृ० १४३
(घ) तापसवत्सराज, पृ० १४३
(ङ) लटकमेलक, पृ० ४९
(च) विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, ४६
७२. तापसवत्सराज, अंक ४, पृ० १४३।
७३. लटकमेलक, अंक २ पृ० ४९; हास्यार्णव प्रहसन, २ पृ० ८५
७४. वही,
७५. विक्रान्तकौरव ६, ४१
७६. वही, ६, ४६, अविमारक में ज्योतिषियों को सांवत्सरिक कहा है। पृ० १४३
७७. अविमारक, पृ० १४३; हास्यार्णवप्रहसन, २ पृ० ८५
७८. विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, ४६

तत्कालीन विवाह-प्रणाली के तीन स्पष्ट विभाग होते थे—

(अ) प्रारम्भिक औपचारिक कृत्य (आ) मूल संस्कार अथवा विवाह तथा (उ) समुद्वाह अर्थात् पति गृह जाने पर किए जाने वाले मांगलिक कार्य।

प्रारम्भिक औपचारिक कृत्य—इसमें वर-वधू की गुण-परीक्षा, कन्या के पिता के पास वर की ओर से किसी का जाना और कन्या के साथ विवाह कर देने की याचना करना, वाग्दान आदि हैं। जैसा कि इस अनुच्छेद के प्रारम्भ में बताया गया है कि राजकन्या के विवाहार्थ प्रति दिन राजकुलों से दूत आते रहते थे।[७९] विवाह में कई वरों में से एक को चुनना था।[८०] अतः विवाह के पूर्व वर-वधू के गुणों की परीक्षा सामान्य रूप से की जाती थी।[८१]

स्वयंवर विधि में गले में माला डालना वाग्दान का प्रतीक था।[८२] वाग्दान के पश्चात् विवाह की अन्य मांगलिक क्रियाएं प्रारम्भ की जाती थीं। कौतुकमंगल[८३] इन्हीं मंगलाचारों में से एक था—जिसमें वधू की कलाई पर कंगन बाँधा जाता था। विवाह वेदी के निकट लाने से पूर्व वर के हाथ में कौतुक सूत्र बाँधकर उसे विवाह दीक्षा

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७९. (क) प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण, अंक २ अविमारक, पृ० ५ व २०

(ख) स्वयं कालिदास ने शिव के द्वारा सप्तर्षियों को राजा हिमालय के पास भिजवाया है तथा प्रार्थना करवाई है कि वे अपनी पुत्री पार्वती का विवाह उनके साथ कर दें। कुमारसम्भव, ६।२९

(ग) मध्ययुग में कापालिकों को भी इस कार्य में नियुक्त किया जाने लगा था। नलविलास, अंक १

(घ) विवाह सम्बन्ध को सम्पन्न करवाने में संन्यासिनियों की योजनायें कालिदास के युग से ही प्रवर्तित हैं। मालविकाग्निमित्र की परिव्राजिका कौशिकी, मालतीमाधव की कामन्दकी व उसकी शिष्याएँ, तापसवत्सराज की सांकृत्यायनी, विदग्धमाधव की भगवती पौर्णमासी, रुक्मिणीहरण की भगवती सुबुद्धि आदि संन्यासिनियों की योजना वैवाहिक उद्देश्यों को लेकर ही की गयी है। प्रभावतीपरिणय में संन्यासिनी का स्थान हंसी शुचिमुखी ने लिया है। प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण, २, ५;, २, ४।

८०. अविमारक, अंक १

८१. वही, अंक १;

८२. विक्रान्तकौरव, ३, ७४ के आगे का गद्यभाग

८३. (क) कौतुकं त्वभिलाषे स्यादुत्सवे नर्महर्षयोः।
विवाहसूत्रगीतादिभोगयोरपि न द्वयोः ॥ इति मेदिनीकोशः

में दीक्षित किया जाता था।[८४] वधू की तरह ही उसके चन्दन-चर्चित भाल पर मांगलिक अक्षतों से शुक्ल तिलक लगाया जाता था।[८५] वर व वधू दोनों को मांगलिक प्रसाधनों से अलंकृत किया जाता था। स्वप्नवासवदत्ता में पद्मावती के विवाह के लिए वासवदत्ता सौभाग्यमाला का गुम्फन करती है। इसमें वह अविधवाकरण की जड़ी गूँथती है तथा सपत्नी-मर्दन-औषधि नहीं गूँथती।[८६] स्नान के पश्चात्[८७] वर व वधू वैवाहिक वेश-भूषा धारण करते थे। वधू की वेशभूषा के लिए एक जोड़ा श्वेत रेशमी वस्त्र (धवल पट्टांशुक), उत्तरीय के लिए लाल वस्त्र, सभी अंगों में पहनाने के लिए अलङ्कार, मोतियों की मालाएँ, अंगराग-चन्दन आदि तथा श्वेत पुष्पों का शिरोभूषण होता था।[८८]

वधू के समान वर का भी प्रसाधनादि होता था। उसके शरीर पर चन्दन का लेप किया जाता, वह नाभि-पर्यन्त लटकते हुए मध्यमणि से युक्त हार धारण करता तथा मोतियों से जटित स्वर्णमय कर्णाभरणों से उसकी शोभा और भी अधिक हो जाती थी।[८९]

(ख) मत्स्य पुराण के अनुसार कंगन में दूब, हल्दी आदि का व्यवहार किया जाता है।

(ग) स्वप्नवासवदत्ता, २ पृ० ८२

(घ) यह कौतुकसूत्र वधू की माता के द्वारा उसके भाल पर विवाह दीक्षा का तिलक लगाकर बाँधा जाता था। कुमारसम्भव, ६, २४-२५

(ङ) उत्तररामचरित, १, १८, पृ० ४०

(च) ....रत्नमालायाः कौतुकबंधमुहूर्तः तस्मात्........। विक्रान्त-कौरव, ५, पृ० २४२

८४. विक्रान्तकौरव ६, पृ० २६४; विद्धशालभंजिका, ४, पृ० ११४

८५. वही, ६, ३८

८६. स्वप्नवासवदत्ता, ३, पृ० ८९-९२

८७. स्वप्नवासवदत्ता, ३ पृ० ८९; विक्रान्तकौरव, पृ० ४५; विद्धशालभंजिका, ४, पृ० ११४

८८. (क) मालतीमाधव, ६, पृ० २६८ (चौ० सं०)

(ख) मालविकाग्निमित्र में भी वधू के लिए कौशेय वस्त्र धारण करने का वर्णन आया है।........कौशेयपत्रोर्णमस्यै........मालविकाग्नि-मित्र, ५, पृ० ३८१

(ग) रत्नावली, ४, पृ० १७२

(घ) तुलना कीजिए—कुमारसंभव ७, १ से ४२

८९. विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, २२

वर के प्रसाधन हो जाने पर वह वधू के पिता के घर की ओर प्रस्थान करता। पार्श्वचरों के चमर व छत्र धारण द्वारा वर की शोभा[९०] एक चक्रवर्ती राजा की सी हो जाती थी।

विवाह के अवसर पर राजभवन को खूब सजाया जाता था। उसके स्वर्णमय खंभों के अग्रभाग पर चमर बांधे जाते तथा लम्बे-लम्बे फानूसों से शोभित आनन्ददायक चंदोवों (वितान) से उसकी शोभा अतिशय उज्ज्वल हो जाती थी।[९१]

विवाहार्थ बने हुए रत्नमंडप को मांगलिक वस्तुओं से सजाया जाता था। उस रत्नमंडप में रेशमी वस्त्रों से आच्छादित हजारों सुवर्णमय खंभे होते थे जिसका चंदोवा लहलहाती लाल झालरों से सुशोभित होता था। वन्दनमाला से युक्त मणिमय तोरणों में लगी घंटियों से जिसका अग्रभाग शब्दायमान रहता था। वह नारियल के फूलों से युक्त सुवर्णमय सैकड़ों कलशों से अलंकृत रहता था।[९२] अन्य मंगलकारी वस्तुओं में कस्तूरी (मृगरोचना), तीर्थों से लायी गयी मिट्टी और दूर्वादल आदि होती थीं।[९३] वर का स्वागत कर उसे सुन्दर आसन पर बिठाया जाता तथा उसे मधुपर्क, रत्न, दुकूल आदि अर्पित किये जाते थे। उधर पंडितों द्वारा वेदों के मन्त्र उच्चारित होते रहते थे।[९४] विवाह क्रिया वेद-विधि से संपन्न की जाती थी।

हस्तिमल्ल के विक्रान्तकौरव में वधू सुलोचना के पिता द्वारा जयकुमार के हाथ में दान जल छोड़कर वधू का हाथ अर्पित करने का उल्लेख है।[९५] किन्तु अन्यत्र पुरोहितों के द्वारा यह क्रिया निष्पन्न होती थी।[९६] वर व वधू तब अग्नि की प्रदक्षिणा करते थे[९७] और पुरोहित के आदेश से वधू अग्नि में अक्षत डालती थी। विवाह सदैव अग्निसाक्षी होते थे। अविमारक व कुरंगी के गांधर्व विवाह की बात जानकर भी राजा कुन्तिभोज उनका अग्निसाक्षिक विवाह करना चाहता है।[९८]

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९०. विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, २१; तु० कुमारसंभव ७, ४१-४२

९१. विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, १०; तु० कुमारसंभव, ७. ९

९२. विक्रान्त कौरव, ६, पृ० २६३; तु० रघुवंश ७, १६; १०, ७७; ५, ६३

९३. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल, ४, पृ० २१८ (रा० बे०)

९४. विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, ४०; ४२ तु० कुमारसंभव; ७, ७२

९५. विक्रान्तकौरव, ६, ४८ तु० वाल्मीकिरामायण, १, ७३, २६, २७

९६. (क) आश्चर्यचूड़ामणि, २, २
(ख) लटकमेलक, प्र० ४९;
(ग) हास्यार्णवप्रहसन, २, ८५

९७. विद्धशालभंजिका पृ० ११२; कर्पूरमंजरी, ४, पृ० २४१;

९८. (क) पी० वी० काणे ने अपने धर्मशास्त्र का इतिहास में पाणिग्रहण के पश्चात लाजाहोम, तत्पश्चात् अग्निपरिणयन दिया है पर

विवाह के दो प्रमुख संस्कार पाणिग्रहण (पत्नी के पालन पोषण के उत्तरदायित्व का प्रतीक) तथा अग्निप्रदक्षिणा (अग्नि के चारों ओर घूमना, जो संस्कार का स्थायी तत्त्व था, साक्षित्व का परिचायक) थे। इस प्रकार पति-पत्नी वैदिक-विधि से अग्नि को साक्षी बनाकर परस्पर संयुक्त होते थे अतः उनका विवाह कोई समझौता नहीं होकर धर्म बंधन था जो सभी परिस्थितियों में अटूट व अकाट्य था।

पतिगृहगमन :—वधू के पतिगृहगमन से पूर्व भी कई मांगलिक क्रियाएँ संपन्न की जाती थीं। शकुन्तला के प्रस्थान-विधि को हम वधू की विदा पद्धति मान सकते हैं।[९९] विवाह के पश्चात् नववधू का पतिगृह चले जाना अनिवार्य माना जाता था। जो कन्या विवाहिता होकर भी पिता के गृह में रहती उसके आचरण में संदेह किया जाता।[१००] प्रस्थान के समय वधू को विविध-विधियों, आभूषणों आदि से सजाते थे। यह प्रस्थान-मंडन 'प्रस्थान-कौतुक' कहलाता था[१०१] जिसमें दूर्वा (दूब), तीर्थों से लायी गयी मिट्टी, गोरोचन (पाठान्तर मृगरोचना) तथा केसर-मालिका का व्यवहार होता था।[१०२] वधू के चरणों में लाक्षारस (आलता) और शरीर के अंगों में आभूषण शोभायमान रहते थे वह चन्द्रधवलदुकूल धारण करती थी।[१०३] फिर जब वह अग्नि की प्रदक्षिणा कर[१०४] पतिगृह जाने को तैयार होती तब उसके स्वजन कन्या के अनुकूल व निर्विघ्न मार्ग की कामना करते थे।[१०५] विदा के समय घर के सभी

कालिदास व राजशेखर ने लाजाहोम को अग्निपरिणय के पश्चात्। ५वीं शताब्दी बाद अग्निपरिणय के बाद ही लाजाहोम का उल्लेख मिलता है। बाणभट्ट के हर्षचरित में राज्यश्री के विवाह में भी यही क्रम निर्दिष्ट है। हर्षचरित, पृ० २०८ (बाम्बे संस्कृत सीरिज)

द्र० धर्म० का इति०, प्र० भा० पृ० ३०४

(ख) कुन्तिभोज :—अग्निसाक्षिकमिच्छामि। पृ० १६३

९९. शाकुन्तल, अंक ४

१००. सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां
जनोऽन्यथा भर्तृमतीं विशङ्कते। वही, ५, १७

१०१. ....शकुन्तलायाः प्रस्थानकौतुकं निवर्तयितुम्, वही, पृ० २१४

१०२. अभि० शाकु० ४, पृ० २१८ (रा० वे०)

१०३. अभि० शाकु०, ४, ५ तथा पृ० २२९

१०४. वही, ४ पृ० २३१

१०५. रम्यान्तरः कमलिनीहरितैः सरोभि
श्छायाद्रुमैर्नियमितार्कमयूखतापः।
भूयात् कुशेशयरजोमृदुरेणुरस्याः
शान्तानुकूलपवनश्चशिवश्च पन्थाः॥ वही, ४, ११

गुरुजन कन्या को आशीर्वाद देते थे। आशीर्वाद में प्रायः "भर्तुर्बहुमता भव,"[१०६] "जाते भर्तुः बहुमानसूचकं महादेवी शब्दं लभस्व";[१०७] तथा यदि वह गर्भवती होती तो "वीरप्रसविनी भव"[१०८] जैसे आशीर्वाद दिए जाते थे। शकुन्तला के प्रस्थान के अवसर पर पिता कण्व का नववधू को सलाह व आशीर्वाद इस प्रकार है—"गुरुजनों का आदर करना, उनकी सेवा-सुश्रूषा करना, सपत्नियों के साथ बहिन का सा व्यवहार करना, पति के तिरस्कार करने पर उसकी विमुखता में भी प्रतिकूल आचरण मत करना, अपने सौभाग्य पर अभिमान कर सेवकों पर अनुदार न होना—इस प्रकार का आचरण करने वाली वधुएँ गृहिणी का स्थान पाती हैं तथा इसके विरुद्ध आचरण करने वाली कुल की कलंक (अभिशाप) होती है।"[१०९] अपनी पुत्री को सच्ची सुगृहिणी बनाना ही माता-पिता के उपदेश का सार था।

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१०६. वही, ४ पृ० २२१
१०७. वही, ४ पृ० २२०
१०८. वही, ४ पृ० २२१
१०९. वही, ४ पृ० १८

SHORT COMMUNICATIONS

AN UNPHONETIC CHANGE

In the early Vedic language, /n/ followed by a vowel gives birth to an additional sound /r/ if preceded by a non-guttural long vowel, but otherwise it is represented in the form of nasalisation on the preceding vowel. Just compare :

mahān indraḥ>mahān indraḥ : paridhīn ati>paridhīn r ati.

A final /n/ changes into the nasalised l in Sandhi, if followed by an l : tān lokān>tāl lokān.

Apart from these instances of the appearance of an additional sound /r/ or /l/, restricted to Sandhi phenomena, there are also instances of the change of /n/ itself into /r/ or /l/.

Pāṇini has recorded one such change,[1] which shows that this change was already operating in the fourth century B.C. But this change was not restricted to Sanskrit words alone. Even the Greek proper name *Menander* has appeared as *Milinda* in the Pali texts. Thus the intervocalic /l/ in some Skt. or middle Indic words may be derived from some original /n/, specially perhaps in the surrounding of nasals.

In this brief communication atleast one such word may be brought to light : *Nālanda* m. or, later, *Nālandā* f. (name of a village in Rājagṛha) may originally represent *Nānandān* from the intensive base (nānand-) of the root

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1. P. 4, 1, 7 : *vano ra ca*. (śarvan>śarvar-ī).

nand (to rejoice), so that the word really means 'abounding in happiness, prosperous'. Later it is said to have become a seat of learning by the establishment of a Mahāvihāra or university.[2]

M. MISHRA

A NOTE ON SHRI S. G. MOGHE'S ARTICLE

"Influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rām.*) on the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (*Śāk.*)—A New Light."

I am surprised to read the above article by Shri S. G. Moghe, and give my comments as follows :

1. Shri Moghe says that "knowledge of the evenness and unevenness of the ground is absolutely necessary to a charioteer running the chariot," and sees the influence of *Rām.* "*sthala-nimnāni bhūmeś ca samāni viṣamāṇi ca.*" on *Śāk.* "*udghātinī bhūmir iti.*" One may ask—Is such a knowledge not necessary for the modern motorist ? Has he to be influenced by *Rām.* for it ? It is the genius of Kālidāsa that he has used (or coined) *udghātinī* 'throwing up or jolting' with reference to a moving vehicle. Had Vālmīki also used this word in *Rām.*, then alone influence could be suspected.

2. Moghe sees the influence of *āśramo'yaṃ...sanātha iva sāmpratam* (*Rām.*) on *sanāthā idānīṃ dharmacāriṇaḥ* (*Śāk.*). This kind of courtsey is ingrained in the mind of every Bhāratīya by our Vedic culture. We always greet a respectable guest or even a common visitor with words : *Āiye baiṭhiye, yeh to āpa kā hī ghara hai* or *Āpa to*

2. Even in the modern dialects of the Magadhī the change of /n/ into /1/ is a common feature. With the help of this rule, many place-names in the Pali texts can be identified with the modern ones.

isa ghara ke mālika hain ? This does not mean influence of *Rām*.

3. Similarly, 'worshipping the king with fruits and nuts by sages, or hermit boys (*Śāk.*) does not require the influence of *phalair mūlaiś ca pūjayitvā Rāghavaṃ* (*Rām.*) on Kālidāsa to say : *iti phalāny upaharataḥ*. All people entertain guests with something available for refreshment.

4. The sharing of merits and demerits of the subjects by the king for his protection or oppression is also commonly met with in Sanskrit literature.

5. The story of Triśaṃku, and the comparison of an undecided person or one in suspense is also common in Indian literature.

6. "The position of a married woman becomes pitiable and ridiculous in the absence of her association with her husband," as said by Moghe is nothing but our custom that a married woman should remain with the family of her husband and not live perpetually or for a long time in her parental house, otherwise she is suspected and defamed.

7. Reference to *Rohit* fish (*Śāk.*) is found not only in *Rām.* but also in many other books and treatises, e.g., *Manusmṛti, Mahābhārata,* etc.

8. *Rām.* did not influence Kālidāsa to describe the incident of Mātali approaching Duṣyanta for help to defeat the group of demons (*Śāk.*) In almost all cases of atrocities committed by demons, the oppressed are advised by Brahmā, Nārada or other holy persons to approach some god or goddess for help.

9. It is puerile to find the influence of the words of Indrajit *gṛdhrāś ca nipatantu tvām* (*Rām.*) with reference to Lakṣmaṇa on the words of the policeman (*gṛdhra-balir bhaviṣ-*

yasi (*Śāk.*) to the fisherman. Vultures, jackals, etc. always flock over corpses of war and carcasses. Nobody offers them to eat. The learned writer has not understood the meaning of *bali* here. It does not mean 'offering', but means 'feed or food or meat.'

10. Superstitions and omens are widely prevalent among both the urban and rural folks. The throbbing of the limbs, eyes, etc., and the encounter of a cat, Brāhmaṇa in the morning, sneezing, etc., do not require the influence of *Rām*. on the person who observes them.

PROF. SADHU RAM

REJOINDER TO PROF. SADHU RAM'S COMMENTS

I am utterly surprised to read the comments of Prof. Sadhu Ram on my paper published in *JGJKSV*. vol. XXXI-nos. 1-4-1976. The following is my reply to the comments of Prof. Sadhu Ram, in the order in which he has raised the points.

I. (i) It seems that Shri Sadhu Ram is giving a modern touch to this problem by citing the example of a modern motorist. It should be remembered here that the merits of Kālidāsa's work are to be determined by the standard of the time in which he flourished. The example of a modern motorist, though convincing, misses the point at issue. (ii) One will have to appreciate that there is a sharp difference in the skill of a charioteer and a motorist. One cannot be compared with the other on this count. (iii) It is true that Vālmīki has not used the expression '*udghātinī bhūmir iti*' in his *Rāmāyaṇa,* Yuddhakāṇḍa 105. 19-20. But the entire description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives the varieties of ground. Here the expressions *sama,*

viṣama etc. in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Yuddhakāṇḍa 105. 19-20 come very near to the expression *'udghātinī bhūmir* and also the expression *'samadeśa* in the text of Kālidāsa. (iv) It should also be noted that the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the *Śākuntalam* can be traced in respect of the concept of a particular thing as well as similarity of language and expression. Here the present description in the *Śākuntalam* satisfies both the requirements and hence there is no point in denying the influence of the former over the latter.

II. Here again Shri Sadhu Ram is going off the point. His argument is based on the general understanding of our Vedic culture. It must be emphasised here that in a specific study particularly based on two specific texts, one should make specific references to the particular texts. Shri Sadhu Ram has ignored this basic principle. Besides, the title of my paper is too clear to need any further elucidation. (ii) The example cited by Shri Sadhu Ram is not a happy one. It has the classical modernity in it. (iii) It may also be pointed out here that we do not receive every guest with the remark that this house belongs to you or you are the master of this house. (iv) Moreover, culture varies from region to region and person to person and it has the basis of a status at the back of it. (v) It may be respectfully pointed out that Kālidāsa makes a sharp distinction on the point of courtsey shown by the hermit girls to the King Duṣyanta in the *Śākuntalam,* Act I and the courtsey shown by Raghu in receiving Kautsa in the *Raghuvaṃśam,* Canto V. In this very context, it is worthy of mention that Kālidāsa has used the expression 'Viṣṭara' which is representative of the tradition of *Gṛhyasūtra* literature. This difference in culture deserves to be noted. It is a matter of hard fact that Shri Sadhu Ram has ignored this sharp distinction that can generally be noticed by a close study of the works. Hence

I do not think it proper to agree with Sadhu Ram on the point of courtsey.

III. Shri Sadhu Ram's argument that all people entertain guests with something available for refreshment also does not prove his conviction. He is applying the general principle of entertaining guest to the particular cases of Kings Rāma and Duṣyanta. This, itself, does not appear sound. (ii) He has forgotten the important point that we do not entertain all guests with refreshment. (iii) The mode of entertaining guests also is different in different regions and in different centuries. To clarify this point further, one may quote at random the passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which runs thus हविरातिथ्यं निरूप्यते सोमे राजन्यागते । (I. 15). In the fourth Act of the *Uttara-Rāma-Caritam* of Bhavabhūti, Saudhataki remarks 'येन परापतितेनैव सा वराकी कपिला कल्याणी मडमडायिता ।' The remark of Dāṇḍāyana is further clear on this point. He states that the writers of *Dharma-Sūtra* works prescribe that the religious house-holders should offer a calf, a bull or a goat in honour of a guest who happens to be a Vedic Brahmin. (iv) In the absence of any material, even the agreeable speech is regarded as a mode of entertaining a guest by the *Manu-Smṛti* III. 101 and in the remark of Duṣyanta भवतीनां सूनृतया गिरा कृतमातिथ्यम् we have the influence of the *Manu-Smṛti*. (v) Over and above, the worship of guest forms a subject of the *Gṛhyasūtra* literature, *Smṛtis* and *Dharma-Śāstra* works. It may be noted here that Kālidāsa very minutely represents the shades of curture that is imbibed by us from Vedic literature, *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In view of these arguments, it is hard to agree with Shri Sadhu Rama who remains contented with the general approach to the subject.

IV. Shri Sadhu Ram's argument that the concept of sharing merits and demerits of the subjects by the king is commonly met with in the Sanskrit literature is also founded

on the general understanding and not on the particular understanding of the specific texts on which my paper is based. Here again it may be respectfully pointed out that I am not highlighting this point in the light of the Sanskrit literature in general as assumed by Shri Sadhu Ram. It may be repeated here that the title of my article is explicit on the scope of the matter that is under discussion. Here in my article I could have multiplied the instances but I thought it quite proper to substantiate my point with one good case. My line of argument is clear on this point and hence I agree to disagree with Shri Sadhu Ram on this count.

V. Again Shri Sadhu Ram's argument in respect of the case of Triśaṃku is of a general character and it need not be dealt with by me specifically. This point is actually as good as answered by me in my discussion on paras II, III and IV. I, therefore, do not think it fit to the subscribe to the line of argument adopted by Sadhu Ram on this point of Triśaṃku. (ii) Shri Sadhu Ram has also ignored that in my article on Page 370, I have also pointed out the possibility of the other source of the *Mahābhārata*. From this, it is evident that I am not at all insisting on my source to prove my case. A dispassionate research worker should never insist on the particular source only.

VI. There is no substance in the argument of Shri Sadhu Ram that it is our custom that the position of a married woman becomes pitiable in the absence of her association with her husband. Now a days, the position is quite otherwise. Neither a husband nor a wife would care a row of pins for the opinion of others about them. They only think that their names will stink in the nostrils of good people. Besides, the position of a husband will become lowered in the eyes of public, if he is abandoned by his wife. (ii) It should be remembered here that Kālidāsa has

before him the ideal of Sītā as a model for the description of Śakuntalā in the *Śākuntalam.* This situation can perhaps be properly grasped if one carefully notes the expression '*balavadapiśikṣitānām* in the *Śākuntalam,* Act. I. 2. and also the line from the *Raghuvaṃśam,* Canto I. 2 which runs as 'अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः In the absence of this ground, the very text of Kālidāsa would become superfluous.

VII. Again it is not a good argument of Shri Sadhu Ram that a reference to Rohita occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manu-Smṛti* and hence the source of the *Rāmāyaṇa* relied upon by me cannot be accepted. Here it may be stated that we cannot verify the exact source of our gifted poet Kālidāsa. (ii) In my article on Page 373 I have observed that no definite information about this Rohita fish is available elsewhere. I have never stated that we do not get a reference to this fish. I hope one will understand a difference in the two expressions 'reference and information.'

VIII. It must be pointed out here that the argument of Shri Sadhu Ram in respect of the incident of Mātali is also of a general character. This need not be answered by me. The same is already treated as replied by my observations in the Paras II, III, IV and V. I would like to be free from the fault of repetition.

IX. It is worth emphasising here that Shri Sadhu Ram is side-tracking the main point of argument discussed by me on Page 375 by calling my source as puerile. In my article I have also shown that the kind of punishment referred to in the *Śākuntalam,* has no place in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Besides, a reference to vultures, jackals and others flocking over corpses of war is not a basis for the *Śākuntalam.* Only important point to be noted here is that Kālidāsa has made

a clever use of the idea of *Rāmāyaṇa* so as to serve his dramatic purpose by possible reference to a punishment likely to be imposed upon a fisherman who is caught with the lost property i.e. a ring. (ii) It is correct to say that corpses are not offered to vultures, jackals. In the *Mahābhārata* (Strī Parvan, Chapters 26 and 27) we find a reference to the dead bodies of the warriors on the sides of Kurus and Pāṇḍavas and these are ceremonially disposed of by Dharmarāja and others only at the end of the *Mahābhārata* War. It is also true that dead bodies are never offered to such vultures and others as is the custom prevalent among the Parsee people. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* what Indrajit means to say is that Rāma and others may not find time to dispose of the dead body of Lakṣmaṇa ceremonially and in that case it is likely to be devoured by vultures and others. Kālidāsa has made the clever use of this incident to create a military humour by compelling a police man to pass the interesting remark with reference to a fisherman. (iii) It is a matter of profound regret that Shri Sadhu Ram has not cared to refer to the standard English editions of the *Śākuntalam* to see how the word *bali* is translated there. I refer Shri Sadhu Ram to the 6th edition of the *Śākuntalam* by Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar p. 129 and Prof. Saradaranjan Ray's 16th edition of the *Śākuntalam* p. 542. These two scholars have rendered the word *bali* as offering. (iii) George Bühler in his English Translation of the *Manusmṛti* III. 74 translates the word *bali* as offering. (iv) The word *bali* also occurs in the context of Vaiśvadeva rite and there the food or the rice is to be sprinkled over with ghee or with curd or milk but not with oil or salt.[1] (v) The word *bali* also occurs in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.* 'सुपर्ण एष एव ते बलिर्भं विष्यत्येतदन्नम' (II. 438) and is translated as 'a share' by Prof. G.V. Devasthali in his edition of the *Inter Arts Sanskrit Selections*

1. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II (2), p. 744.

1954-1956 of the University of Bombay. (vi) Besides, the word *bali* is also explained by the commentators like Medhātithi, Kullūka and others on the *Manusmṛti*—III. 70, 74 and 104. (vii) The word *bali* is properly explained in the Āhnika-Kāṇḍa of the *Smṛticandrikā* of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (P. 577, Mysore edition—1914). The above references clearly indicate that the word *bali* cannot be translated as 'feed or food or meat' as assumed by Sadhu Ram. In conclusion I am constrained here to say that Sadhu Ram has not understood the idiom of the English language in translating the word *bali* and his rendering of the word as 'feed or food or meat' is not only not acceptable but it does not bring out the sense of the *Dharma-Śāstra* literature pointed out above and also the sense of 'a share' taken by Prof. Devasthali.

X. Shri Sadhu Ram has not answered to my specific observation of the superstition that the tears of sorrow are hot and for this superstition in *Śākuntalam,* Kālidāsa owes to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As regards other superstitions, I have not shown any comparison between Kālidāsa and Vasanta-RājaŚakuna (earlier than 1150 A.D. according to Dr. Kane) to show the points of resemblance. Shri Sadhu Ram is interested in making general observations and not specific. Moreover, I have not dealt with the aspect of superstitions at full length. I have quoted a specific case from the *Rāmāyaṇa* to which he has no answer to give.

In conclusion, the present author is constrained to hold reasonably that the arguments advanced by Shri Sadhu Ram or the comments made by him are superficial, general, and based on the common sense understanding of Vedic culture. His comments have no bearing on the study of the two specific texts relied upon by me. On the meaning of the term *bali,* further Shri Sadhu Ram is completely unsatisfactory.

DR. S. G. MOGHE

OBITUARIES

1. Dr. RAMSHARAN TRIPATHI, *Shastri, M.A.* (*Hindi, Sanskrit*) *Ph.D., Kavyatirtha* :

A condolence meeting was held in the Vidyapeetha on the 5th of December, 1977 under the chairmanship of Dr. Harihar Jha, Reader, to mourn the sad demise of Dr. Ram Sharan Tripathi, a noted Sanskrit scholar and writer who was deeply associated with this institute for many years.

Dr. R. S. Tripathi, who was a happy combination of traditional Sanskrit Scholarship blended with modern Western learning, has secured a permanent place for himself in the history of Sanskrit Literature through his monumental work कौमुदीकथाकल्लोलिनी (Varanasi 1961), a novel in Sanskrit prose which, at the same time, aims at illustrating the usage of the grammatical rules of Pāṇini in the order of *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. The work is divided into 11 *Kallolas* which treat the rules pertaining to *sandhi, samās, kāraka,* and *taddhita* etc. His another much praised work is ब्रह्मसूत्रप्रमुखभाष्यपंचकसमीक्षणम् in which he critically evaluates the Sanskrit *bhāṣyas* of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja. Madhva, Nimbārka and Vallabha on the Vedāntasūtras and explains how the different Ācāryas build up their philosophical systems on the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa by interpreting them differently.

Vyākaraṇa and Vedānta were his favourite subjects. Earlier also he had written books dealing with these two disciplines. Mention may be made of *Saṃskṛtaracanānuvāda-ratnākaraḥ* (Agra 1952) and the *Vedāntasāra* (with Sanskrit and Hindi commentaries, Varanasi 1954) which have proved to be very popular with University students. Two of his expositions. on *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī* and *Vedānat-paribhāṣā* respectively. as well as work containing *śāstrārtha*

(disputation) on the *Sūtras of Siddhāntakaumudī* await publication.

Even though an Orthodox Brahmin fully established in tradition, he was modern and progressive in his outlook. In a series of his articles titled "भारतावनत्युन्नतिवीजविमुष्टिः" published in the Sanskrit monthly *Sūryodaya* in 1938-39 he calls upon the Sanskritists to cast aside those retrogressive views which hamper the progress of our country and to wake up to the needs of the time. In "ग्रावश्यकमन्यभाषासूक्ष्मज्ञानम्" published in the same journal, he pleads for the knowltdge of English and other European languages for the Sanskritists.

Dr. R. S. Tripathi was born in a village in Banda in 1908. He got his early Sanskrit education from his elder brother Pt. Muktadatta Tripathi who was the Principal of a Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya at Rajim (Raipur) M.P. Later he was sent to Ukni (Jaunpur) which was a famous centre of Sanskrit learning at that time. After studying Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya there (in which he obtained the degree of Kāvyatīrtha from Calcutta) and partly at Varanasi, he decided to join the Oriental College, Lahore which was then headed by Prof. Woolner, the famous Orientalist. The stay at Lahore not only introduced him to many new fields of Indological studies but also considerably widened his mental horizon. After obtaining the degree of Shastri, the highest, from there with honours, he joined service at the R.E.I. College, Agra and later, in 1953, shifted to K.G.K. College, Moradabad where he remained till his retirement in 1971.

The last years of his life he spent at Allahabad when he often used to visit this institute and actively participate in its weekly seminars.

Dr. Tripathi was not only a gifted prose writer but a gifted poet too. He has left many beautiful Sanskrit verses on varied subjects. Being pre-eminently a scholar of "Śabda-

śāstra" he loved only the *Śabdālaṅkāras* in the poetry. His verses abound in the use of alliterations (*anuprāsa* and *yamaka*) and a śloka by him, presently inscribed in the Vindhyavāsinī temple at Banda, can be interpreted to yield more than 35 meanings by means of *sabhaṅga śleṣa*. Also in his prose article published posthumously in this number in which he equates Pāṇini in a rather light mood with *paśyatohara* (goldsmith/thief), he makes frequent use of puns.

The Editors

2. PROF. LUDWIG ALSDORF

Professor Dr. Ludwig Alsdorf, Professor Emeritus and former Head of the Department for the Culture and History of India at the University of Hamburg in the Federal Republic of Germany, passed away on March 25th, 1978, aged 73.

Professor Alsdorf, an authority on Jainism, was well-known in the scholarly circles of India and the world. His comprehensive knowledge of Indian studies unattained by the younger generation reached far beyond the realm of traditional Indology and included the phenomena of contemporary India.

Born in 1904 in the Rhineland, he studied Indology, Comparative Linguistics as well as Persian and Arabic at the universities of Heidelberg and Hamburg. His teachers in Sanskrit were Heinrich ZIMMER and Walther SCHUBRING, the latter having been the leading western Jainologist who initiated him in Jain studies. Prof. Alsdorf got his doctorate from Hamburg University in 1928 for a thesis dealing with a Jain Apabhraṃśa text (*Kumārapālapratibodha*).

He continued his studies in Berlin (under Heinrich LÜDERS who was the then foremost German Indologist. It was, however, Hermann JACOBI, well-known to the Jain community in India, who suggested to him the subject of his Habilitation thesis, namely the Jain *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (published in 1936).

From 1930 to 1932 Prof. Alsdorf served as a lecturer of German and French in the University of Allahabad. During this time he travelled extensively all over India and established connection with several leading Jaina Munis such as the late Acharya Vijaya Indra Suri and Munis Vidya Vijaya and Jayanta Vijaya.

In 1935/38 he was Reader in Indology at Berlin University and afterwards taught Indology at the University of Münster. In 1950 Prof. Alsdorf was appointed Head of the Department of Indology at Hamburg University as successor to his Guru Prof. Schubring. Since 1972 he had been Professor Emeritus of that university.

Besides several articles on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,* Prof. Alsdorf has published in German language a number of books and extensive papers, the main titles being : Apabhraṃśa Studies (1937); The Indian Subcontinent : Bharat, Pakistan, Ceylon (1955); Contributions to the History of Vegetarianism and Cow worship in India (1961); Aśoka's Separate Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (1962). Between 1951 and 1959 Prof. Alsdorf completed and edited in two volumes unpublished papers left by Heinrich Lüders under the title "*Varuṇa*". On the occasion of his 70th birthday, a comprehensive volume containing his articles, lectures and other contributions was brought out with the assistance of the Glasenapp Foundation in Germany. He was Editor-in-Chief of the Critical Pali Dictionary, a stupendous project in which Indian and Western scholars are participating.

In his last years his scholarly work was concentrated on the earliest commentaries of the Jain Āgamas.

Prof. Alsdorf was an active member of the Academy of Sciences and Literature of Mainz as well as of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. He had visited India about twelve times after World War II and had been the leading German delegate to a number of Sanskrit Conferences and to the meetings of the International Congress of Orientalists.

Dr. Magdalene Duckwitz
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Born 6.6.1948 in Chittor (Rajasthan); M.A. 1972 in Sanskrit; Ph.D. 1978 from Udaipur University on *Pramukha Sanskṛta Nāṭakon Men Dhārmika Tattva*; published 30 articles in different research journals; *Vijñānabhairavam* in press.

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Born 29.6.1936 in Kerala; M.A. (Sanskrit) 1954; Ph.D. 1958 from Delhi University on *A Critical Study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa with special reference to Bhakti* (published by Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1970); published 2 books and 9 articles; various talks in Toronto and Canada on Hinduism and Buddhism; interested in different extra—and co-curricular activities.

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Born 24.12.1940 at Khurja (U.P.); M.A. (Hindi) 1961, M.A. (Sanskrit) 1964 from Agra University; Sāhityācārya 1962, Sāṃkhyayogācārya 1964 from Sanskrit University, Varanasi; Ph.D. 1967 on *Jaināčārya Raviṣeṇakṛta Padmapurāṇa evaṃ Tulasīkṛta Rāmacarita kā Tulanātmaka Adhyayana* (published, 1974).

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Born 12.7.1938 at Allahabad, educated at Allahabad and Saugar; M.A. 1962, Ph.D. 1968 both from Saugar University; worked as a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit 1967-70; visiting Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study,

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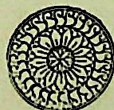
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